Orientalism and India: A critical reading into the oriental discourse of the 19th century India.

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August 2007

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the work embodied in this thesis entitled **Orientalism and India: A critical reading into the oriental discourse of the 19th century India** has been carried out by Shri. Balaji Ranganathan under my direct guidance and supervision. I declare that the work done and presented in this thesis is original and independent.

I further declare that the work has not been submitted either partly or fully to any other University or Institute for the award of any degree.

Date: 1st August, 2007. Signature of the Guide.

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the research work presented in this thesis is prepared by me after studying the various references related to the thesis. The analysis and the critical interpretation found in this thesis is entirely original. Hence I declare that I am responsible for the cirtical opinion and the other details found in this thesis.

I further declare that this thesis is my original work and has not been submitted to any university or Institute for the award of any degree.

Date: Signature of Candidate.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

These have been fulfilling years; where I learnt a few things about India; an India that is normally hidden to most people. The history that is learnt by us at a formative stage is very broad in nature and it often misses the finer subtleties that govern the politics of history. The period of my dissertation brought me into an area which at first appeared to me to be quite simple in its scope. I had to read, research and write on ‘Orientalism’. It was during my reading stint for my dissertation that I realised the immensity of this exercise with its huge colonial output in the form of manuscripts, books, published historical documents and creative literature. Much of this material exists in the libraries and archives and the research negotiations with them are still not complete. At the end of this exercise I can safely say that this area will take a number of people a number of lifetimes to unravel, comment and probably renegotiate India’s contact with colonialism.

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the numerous view and counter views and the problematic concepts that characterise the colonial experience today.

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INTRODUCTION

The present endeavour seeks to understand the role of Orientalism and its implications within India and Europe. The role of Orientalism is closely connected with the colonial process and discipline helped to define India to the colonisers. Edward Said brought out his seminal text *Orientalism* [1] which helped to define the role of the colonial process at work. Orientalism was a discipline that oversaw the immense mapping and the codification process of the East. This thesis examines India as the site of the mapping.

India presented different aspects to the foreign powers in India and this resulted in confusing reality for the powers in their attempts to bring about a territorial control of the land and revenue. The processes that were involved included codification of vast amounts of data regarding the people, their customs and manners of living. It included topographical information and an understanding of the native law that would help the powers to bring about the act of governance. The French, the British and the Germans visualised India within their own parameters and mercantile interests. The transition from traders to rulers was a gradual process that saw a gradual familiarization of India and its aspects. The imperial process generated a lot of question both within India and the West as the countries debated the actual process by the country needed to be governed and developed. The debates continued throughout the nineteenth century as the powers generated a huge archive of Indian materials to understand its history and the people. This project included translations, commentaries, joint collaborations and the role of printing technologies.

This study will strive to examine the role of the British, French and the German Orientalists, the Orientalizing bodies at work and the responses within the literature created by the imagination that collided with the colonial process at work.

The first chapter is titled **Crisis in Orientalism.** This chapter examines the problems in praxis that have been generated within Post Colonial studies by the publication of Edward Said's *Orientalism*. Said's *Orientalism* has its limitations and it has not looked at the problems and the phases within Orientalism that took place in India. The theoretical praxis of Orientalism is a homogenising one which does not distinguish countries and the people who produced it. It is seen as a vast over reaching body of work that includes the whole of the orient. It does not differentiate the individual cultures. Post Colonial scholarship does not differentiate Orientalism as a theoretical praxis and Orientalism as a discipline which was a part of the imperial process. This chapter seeks to interrogate Edward Said and David Koph who authored seminal texts which have generated much opinion within the oriental discourse on India.

The second Chapter is titled **Orient(aliz)ing Institutions and Individuals**. This chapter examines the role of the Asiatic Society as a premier Orientalizing body which brought about the field of Orientalism. The Asiatic Society began in 1784 C.E. with the initiative of Sir William Jones. He is not the earliest to have begun the studies on India. East India Company officials like Nathaniel Halhed, Alexander Dow, William Gladwin and Zephaniah Holwell had begun recording their initial observations on India. Sir William Jones becomes the first to begin a corporate body which systematically at the behest of the Warren Hastings Government began to study India. He was followed by H.H. Wilson, H.T. Colebrooke and James Princep who continued the work of the society in collating information on India. The data ranged

from Indian literary texts and Indian philosophy to numismatic and epigraphic evidence. This also included a systematic study of Indian architecture and music. The studies were brought out in a series of publications known as the *Asiatic Researches*. The Researches captivated Europe which led to the establishment of more corporate bodies and institutions. University chairs in Sanskrit were also established and the study of India moved from the physical India to the India in the archive. This chapter examines the role of the Asiatic Society and the individual Orientalists through the proceedings and the publications of the Asiatic society.

The third chapter is titled **Translating India**. With the premise that translation is an act of interpretation, appropriation and conversion this chapter examines the growth of imperial institutions which translated India in terms of responses and policies. India was codified in a systematic manner by these institutions. Until the establishment of these institutions India was examined in stray cases which depended on the interest of the traders and travellers. The establishment of institutions made the study of India an exercise which encompassed the land; it utilised government funds and they were directly under the auspices of the East India Company and later the British Government. This chapter will examine the development of the Imperial gazetteers and the motives behind them in their quest to map India in a series of tabular statistics, The formation of the Indian Museum and the attempt to showcase India, the formation and the motives for the formation of the Archaeological and the Orientalising attempts with education with the formation of the College of Fort William. The Imperial gazetteers coded the districts into a condensed form; for the consumption of the district officials in India and in England. India was reduced to an archive of information with the help of these gazetteers. The Imperial gazetteer led to the development of the conservation policies in India. The monuments and artefacts

that were present then were studied in a systematic manner by the establishment of the Archaeological Survey of India and its first director Alexander Cunningham. The Archaeological survey brought out a series of field reports that located, identified and studied the monuments in question. Like the growth of the Imperial Gazetteer the Archaeological survey of India was also born out of imperial motives which sought to bring about a codification of India which would help to enter India's past and in this sense would be easier to understand for the purpose of governance. The growth of the gazetteers and the archaeological surveys brought about a need for conversation practices and a need to view India in a totality. The Indian museum was the outshoot of this process where the Asiatic society of Bengal played a crucial role. Finally the chapter will examine the growth and the formation of the College of Fort William and the activities in the training of the candidates and the emphasis placed on the learning of the Indian languages. They also institutionalised the texts which had become milestones within Orientalism.

The fourth chapter is titled **Resisting Representations and Representing Resistance**. This chapter examines the India that had been captured by the imagination of the people. India meant differently for different regions and its people. In this sense India was examined in a plural manner where the imagination collided with the colonial process to begin the stage of representation and resistance. This chapter examines the East Indian world of Henry Vivian Derozio, his poems and his responses and collaborations with the colonising process through his poems, letters and political documents of his day. He staged his resistance against the colonising process by bringing out the problems of the East Indian community under British colonial policy and his responses to the modernity which resulted in his removal form the Hindu College. Bankimcandra Chatterji, the author of *Anandmath* [2], is a focus of

study here where his responses within the novel are examined in a historical setting to understand his position within the colonial resistance.

India was also the subject to the British Imagination. Colonel Meadows Taylor wrote a number of historical novels keeping India as a setting. *Confessions of a Thug* [3] will be examined in this section where the entire repressive forces of the colonial apparatus were unleashed to bring about an end to thugee as a practice in India. The colonial force was also used to bring about a smooth and a uniform flow of revenue into the districts by the action. The roads by this action were made safer and flow of trade could be conducted unhindered. There was an implicit understanding within the entire exercise to bring about a greater accessibility within the districts. Meadows Taylor fictionalises this entire exercise and the plot construction will be examined keeping the imperial design in view. Itcharam Suryaram Desai was a Gujarati novelist who had brought about his impressions on the colonial process with the publication of the first political novel in Gujarati titled *Hind and Britannia* [4] This novel examines in an allegorical sense the problems faced by India under Britannia which signifies the British policy. This novel is singular in the sense that it brings out the dissatisfaction within the colonial process and also in the end cannot bring about an overt reaction towards it. The novel ends with Itcharam making a compromise with the colonial discourse by preferring reform to the end of the British rule. The final text that will be examined here is M.K. Gandhi's *Hind Swaraj* [5] This text is seminal for the systematic discourse of resistance against the entire colonial process. Industrialisation and colonization took place simultaneously and were interrelated for industrialisation needed among other things human resources, natural resources in the form of raw materials; which were available in plenty in the areas of 'darkness'. The Hind Swaraj resists colonization and industrialisation with the entire concept of Swaraj as a

doctrine of resistance and the manner with which it could be used to bring about a change in the dialogue with the coloniser. This is the first complete dialogue of resistance in the writings during the colonial period.

Conclusion, the last chapter, considers Orientalism and its limitations with the praxis of Edward Said's definition of it and Orientalism as a discipline and also traces the pluralities within the Oriental process and the role of the nations that created it and also examines the phases within Orientalism. Along with it critiques the nature of the post colonial scholarship that constructs the notion of Orientalism and uses it in a very arbitrary sense without over sighting the fact that Orientalism in its pre and post-Saidian era impacted human psyche in a general sense and gave a new direction to post colonial studies too.

Chapter-1

Crisis in Orientalism

David Koph's *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance: The dynamics of Indian. Modernization 1773-1835* [1] has acquired an iconic status in Orientalistic and India Centric studies. David Koph focus is on the early period of the British presence in India. His scope of inquiry extends from the time of Warren Hasting's upto the Anglicisms and the Orientalists controversy. His primary focus is on the College of Fort William. David Koph analyses the cultural policies of this period within the nineteenth century Bengal renaissance paradigm; which can also be extended to nineteenth century India.

David Koph examines the cultural exchange within the renaissance framework as a change in tradition brought about by the Orientalistic studies into the past history and the cultural matrix of India. Koph mentions:

> With respect to Indian accommodation to British Orientalism the same years witnessed the genesis of what has not infrequently been called the Bengal Renaissance. The literature of the nineteenth century Bengal Renaissance falls into two broad categories the popular image of the renaissance among Bengalis proud of their recent heritage and the scholarly notion of renaissance as a problem in British Indian historiography.[2]

David Koph's and Raymond Schwab's readings had been done before Edward Said published his *Orientalism*.[3] Both these readings are exemplary in their empirical detail and historical data. Koph published his work in 1969 and Schwab published *The Oriental Renaissance : Europe's Rediscovery of India and the East 1680-1880*.[4] Edward said published *Orientalism* in 1978. Schwab and Koph examine Bengal and

India within a non-theoretical praxis and they do not examine the imperialistic interest and expansion which was connected with Orientalism.

Speaking about the Indian Renaissance Koph mentions Raja Rammohan Roys comment to Alexander Duff:

> I begin to think that something similar to the European renaissance might have taken place here in India.[5]

Bankimchandra Chatterji (1838-1894) had also employed the term renaissance frequently in his writings. Aurobindo also had employed the term to describe the era of Bankim. He had written number of essays on Bankim.[6] Koph mentions the scholastic problem with the term ‘the Renaissance’. ‘The Renaissance’ as a term has been used to describe the cultural conditions which had taken place in Italy. It signified a huge growth in the field of architecture, art and literature. The center of this renaissance had been Florence. England was no where in the renaissance picture then. The change that occurs in England is apparent after Henry VIII and his establishment of the Church of England and the severance of ties with the Roman Catholic Order in Rome.

The geographical problem of the fall of Constantinople and the Ottoman expansion of its empire saw the beginning of the Humanistic movement towards France and England. The close proximity of England to France saw the import of ideas and the institution of cultural change in the reign of Elizabeth-I. This was also the period of the dramatists like Marlow. Shakespeare and Ben Jonson. Reformation had occurred in England and the conditions which fostered the renaissance in Italy specially Florence cannot be equated to the conditions in England. In fact the reformation and the engendered conditions was largely an imported one and generated by it.

Hence the term needs to be examined carefully when it is applied to nineteenth century India. The British presence in Bengal saw the problems of territorial expansion, an exploitative phase with the reign of Robert Clive, the initial Orientalistic phase and the settled phase of the British administration which has been described as the Indian Renaissance. The conditions which were engendered in Bengal saw similar replications in the other British territories in India.

There were institutionalized changes in India. The changes saw a sweeping flow of Enlightenment modernity which tore apart traditional systems of learning and cultural habits. Koph states:

> Throughout the book, the words modernization and renaissance (revitalization) has been used interchangeably. In this sence the Bengal renaissance could be taken as depicting the general impact of Orientalism.[7]

Koph examines the establishment of the College of Fort William, the attempts at introducing an English education, the formation of schools by David Hare and the Calcutta School Society, the Indian participation in it, the formation of Hindu College, the Young Bengal movement and Derozio, the colonial attempts to modernise and Indian attempts to resist and accept the modernity. Koph examines the issues here more in terms of historical detail and events and the direct consequence of them on the changing cultural scene of Bengal. He does not examine the historical documents which point in the contrary direction, where one discovers that in many ways; the Renaissance ideal was encouraged in an institutionalised manner. Koph mentions:

> They contributed to the formation of a new Indian middle class and assisted in the professionalization of the Bengali intelligentsia. They started schools, systematized languages, brought printing and publishing to India, and

> encouraged the proliferation of books, journals, newspapers, and other media of communication. Their impact was urban and secular. They built the first modern scientific laboratories in India, and taught European medicine. They were neither static classicist's nor averse to the idea of progress; and they both historicized the Indian past and stimulated a consciousness of history in the Indian intellectual.[8]

Koph does not examine the notion of knowledge as 'power'. Warren Hastings idea of information as 'useful knowledge'; was in many ways responsible for the growth of the British rule in India. Koph examines cultural change in India as a historical accident. Koph states:

> In reality the latter term is preferable, because what the West brought to Asia was those elements which came to constitute modern society, i.e. new forms of political organization, new bases for economic activity, new social classes, new ways of life which removed traditional societies from the patterns which had been theirs for centuries.[9]

The British rule in India began through a historical accident with the Battle of Plassey. The cementing of the British administration after Plassey was a closely decided and a premedicated attempt at controlling and constructing India. Koph concludes his reading of the Indian modernity in the nineteenth century by examining the idea of changing value systems. He mentions that the Orientalists and the Anglacists had more or less a similar agenda. He mentions.

> The only difference here between Anglicists and Orientalists is that the Anglicists went further than the Orientalists in importing Western values wholesale and were less sympathetic to Oriental culture and to the need of integrating the new values smoothly into the old fabric.

> From this vantage point, there was little that was different in substance between the two alternative programs other than a conflict in cultural values.[10]

Koph is correct in his conclusion that the Orientalists and the Anglacists had a similar objective in mind. Koph examines the impact of modernity in his book. He does not examine the problem of colonial discourse and its post colonial implications. Koph's book as mentioned was published earlier than the Orientalism post colonial discourse which began with Said's Orientalism.

Koph also examines the Indian response to the nineteenth century Renaissance structure. He mentions the problems faced by the Indian historians in defining the period. He remarks:

> ....non western renaissance's are faced with the problem of defining their concept as a historical period, as a cultural pattern, and as a sociocultural process.[11]

The Renaissance in India according to the modern commentaries extended from William Jones to the Anglacists like Mill, Grant and Macaulay. This period has been viewed as a transition period during which the Renaissance occurred. The Nationalistic process has its origins within this period. The process of cultural change had been viewed as the Indian Renaissance by the Indian intellectuals and the British administrators. The time was noted as a force of positive change and the forces of imperical modernization as a unique cultural encounter which removed India from the medieval age and yet managed to retain its focus on its glorious past.

The imperical historiography of this period constructed India and its subjects. Koph's defination of modernity was in reality a careful and a well planned initiative which began with Orientalistic studies and ended with the complete subjugation of India.

Raymond Schwab's *The Oriental Renaissance: Europe's rediscovery of India and the East 1680-1880* is notable for the position he takes on the status of Orientalistic studies. He mentions in the chapter titled 'There is an Oriental Renaissance'.

> An Oriental Renaissance – a second Renaissance, in contrast to the first.[12]

Schwab mentions that a second Renaissance had taken place in Europe with the growth of Orientalistic studies. The first renaissance had been fuelled by influences from Greece and Italy. Schwab mentions:

> In 1759 Anquetil finished his translation of the Avesta at Surat; in 1786 that of the Upanishads in Paris – he had dug a channel between the hemispheres of the human genius, freeing the old humanism from the Mediterranean basin.[13]

Schwab concurs that Orientalistic studies opened a new perspective in the Western perception of the world and it also helped in defining the West also. Orientalistic studies were largely defined in the search for Western origins. The search took the forms of linguistic studies and archeological evidence. This search led to the discoveries in the Orient and it generally tended to mirror the unanswered questions regarding the West. Schwab remarks:

> ....the linguists believed they had found the answer to Babel, the poets expected the return of Eden; a passion for origins rose up in the hearts of men with each new archeological excavation a little as if, with each new formula produced by a chemist came the illusion that he had created a new life...[14]

Orientalistic studies were mired in the search for the common root sources of languages and the origins of the pre-history which resulted in the growth of the Western civilizations.

Schwab's concept of the second Renaissance raises many problems. It raises questions like the moral and the imperialistic nature of the Orientalistic Renaissance, the reasons for the enquiry and the problems of the colonial expansion and the colonization of the mental spaces that followed. The search for origins led to the huge expansion in Sanskrit studies and the establishment of University chairs and societies. This had fuelled the growth of ethnological studies and had led to racial typography. Sanskrit as a language and its literature had pointed to the genesis of the Western cilvizations; before the major shift of people towards different continents; which led to the growth of major Eastern and Western civilizations. Vedic literature and Sanskrit was seen to hold the keys to the genesis of the West. The Oriental Renaissance according to Schwab helped in the development of the Romantic influence on the West. He singles out Germany and its romantic revival. The influence of romanticism on the growth of German Indological studies was extensive. It led to a massive expansion in Indological studies under Herder, Schlegal Bopp and Goethe. Schwab does not examine the conditions which created the conditions for romanticism in Germany. The unstable monarchies after the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars had caused a breakdown in the old feudal order and a large crisis with national identities. The growth of Indological studies and the search into Oriental culture and the problem of racial origins had helped to stabilise it. The concept of world literature and comparative formats helped to decrease the increasing sense of personal alienation caused due to political uncertainties. The romanticization of the

Orient was a means of gaining a personal identity through linguistic research and ethnological studies.

David Koph and Raymond Schwab belong to an earlier period of Indological and Orientalistic research where the polemics of Orientalism as understood today was absent. Their readings do not take into account the post colonial condition or the problems engendered during the colonial process. They are sympathetic in their approach towards the imperial process and the colonial expansion. They fail to enquire into the motives and the reasons for the colonial research into Orientalistic studies. They examine Orientalism as a discipline which helped to throw light into the history and culture of Eastern civilizations, and the self reflexivity which accompanied it in the west. Orientalism as a discipline entailed the subjugation, interrogation, translation and finally the colonial administration of a nation.

II

Edward Said's *Orientalism* brought about a huge shift in the methods of inquiring history. The text has acquired a seminal status and has created numerous discourses ranging from post colonial studies to cultural anthropology.

Said brings out the creation of the Orient in this text. The Orient has been the site of the western gaze which has constantly created, moulded and refashioned it. Said in the book undertakes the task of creating a historiography of the Orient. He mentions in *Orientalism*.

> Anyone ... who teaches, writes about, or researches the Orient – and this applies whether the person is an anthropologist, archeologist, historian or philologist – either in its specific or its general aspects, is an Orientalist, and what he or she does is Orientalism.[15]

Orientalism is a body of studies comprising of scholars, government departments and University chairs. The second common definition said mentions is that there is 'an ontological and epistemological distinction' made between the Occident and the Orient. The third definition he brings out is the corporate nature of the Orientalistic project where the Orientalist 'teaches makes statements, authorizes views, describes, settles, dominates and restructures the orient'.

Said mentions in the outset that Britain and France dominated the Orientalistic project upto the Second World War Said qualifies the nature of the Orient by examining its ontological status. Firstly Said mentions that the Orient is a tangible presence and not just an idea. This means that Orientalism is connected to materiality and its own knowledge systems. Said draws a distinction between an imaginative orient and a material orient and both of them led to the construction of the orient and their intersection saw the rise of colonial power. The second qualification said makes

is the collaboration and the intersection of power and knowledge systems. Colonial power and knowledge created the colonial stereotype. The third qualification Said makes is Orientalism as a systemised project which has an accumulative effect through the centuries. Orientalism as a body of knowledge has been built with the creation of knowledge systems through the centuries and it has a temporal and a corporeal reality. Said also mentions very clearly the site of his enquiry and he limits his enquiry to the Middle-East. He mentions.

> I limited that already limited (but still inordinately large) set of questions to the Anglo French-American experience of the Arabs and Islam, which for almost a thousand years together stood for the orient. Immediately upon doing that, a large part of the orient seemed to have been eliminated – India, Japan, China and other sections of the far East-not because these regions were not important (they obviously have been) but because one could discuss Europe's experience of the Near Orient, or of Islam apart from its experience of the far orient.[16]

He further adds:

> Yet my discussion of that domination and systematic interest does not do any justice to (a) the important contributions to Orientalism of Germany, Italy, Russia, Spain and Portugal and (b) the fact that one of the most important impulses towards the study of the orient in the Eighteenth century was the revolution in Biblical studies stimulated by Bishop Lowth, Eichhorn, Herder and Michaelis.[17]

Said by limiting his enquiry has created an applicational confusion within post colonial studies. Can the reading of Orientalism be extended beyond the Middle East? Can Orientalism be expanded to South East Asia and South Asia too by examining the

nature of imperialist practices? There is a problem of the homogeneity of the discourse if it is extended unilaterally throughout the Far East. It leads to a uniform discourse by creating a grand narrative of Orientalism. Orientalism was not contextualised to the Middle East. It was restricted to the Middle East. Said notes:

> Much of the personal investment in this study derives from my awareness of being an 'oriental' as a child growing up in two British colonies. All my education in those colonies (Palestine and Egypt) and in the United States has been Western, and yet that deep early awareness has persisted. In many ways my study of Orientalism has been an attempt to inventory the traces upon me, the oriental subject of 'the culture 'whose domination has been so powerful a factor in the life of all Orientals. This is why for me the Islamic orient has had to be the centre of attention.[18]

Said limits his readings of Orientalism to the Middle East on personal grounds. There are a number of contextual cultural markers within *Orientalism.* The sense of exile permeates the readings of the text. Said in a number of places in the text voices his alienation of being a Christian Arab protestant and his position as an 'outsider'; within post 1945 American Worldwide policies regarding the Arab World. The second marker is the proximity of the Christian World with the Islamic World within history. The Levent has seen a constant interaction between the two major religions. Said through *Orientalism* contextualises the encounter and the dialogics of the encounter. He points to the inconsistent policies of the construction of the levent.

Orientalism had the entire East as its focus. By limiting the geographical focus of *Orientalism S*aid does not exonerate the imperial expansion in India and Africa. He constantly points to the Franco British encounter in both the continents. The basic mechanics of the construction of the nations in Asia by Orientalism was the same;

though the components which constructed Orientalism in terms of languages, histories, culture and ethnology were different. Each reading and construction required different strategies and positions of assimilation and difference on the part of the coloniser and the colonised alike.

A major problem with Orientalism and its dialogical encounters today are with its engagements with post-modernism. The focus of the Post colonial discourse today does not engage with the discourse of Orientalism but rather it engages with the problems of post coloniality and the colonial aftermath. This is done by keeping within the framework created by *Orientalism*. Said examined the history of the Orientalism process in Egypt and the Middle East. The methodology he used comprised an analysis of travelogues, texts, policies and the politics of the period. This direct engagement with Orientalistic practices and its institutions brought out the polemics of Orientalism in the Middle-East. Post colonial studies presently engage with the post colonial condition in a theoretical praxis which refutes the presence of grand narratives in the construction of history. Post modernism proposes a series of smaller micro narratives. The crisis in Orientalism today is this separation of the actual, physical and recorded history on one hand and the problems of post colonability on the other. Said mentions on this problem of 'Travelling theory':

> As I tried to suggest in one of my essays called 'Travelling Theory', even the production of a theory is rooted in historical and social circumstances, sometimes great crises, and therefore, to understand the theory, it's not important to see it as a kind of abstract thing but rather to see it as something that emanates from an existential need.[19]

Said mentions this for examining cultural polemics within a comparative format. Contextualised polemics of this kind helps to situate the text in a better manner. The

poetry of Michael Madhusudhan Dutt Henry Vivean Derozio and Toru Dutt can be better understood by examining the Romantic Movement in England and Germany along with its nineteenth century history. The decontextualised analysis today fails to understand the conditions that engender history and post-coloniality.

An important nature of Orientalism is its plurality in terms of the content and the foreign axis powers that originated it. Orientalism is not a single narrative which is homogeneous and the same for all the nations which created it. The British Portuguese, the French and the Dutch were the major foreign powers which controlled parts of India; until the British assumed complete control. The imperatives and the motives were different for the different powers which created it. Hence British Orientalism was very different in character than the French and the German Orientalism and methods. Germany moreover was an Orientalising nation which focused on India without participating directly in the Oriental process. Orientalism can not be seen as a single construct in matters of application and construction. Said and the subsequent commentators view the construction of Orientalism as a general encompassing category for the construction of the East.

The applicational nature of Orientalism seen in the translation of India is connected to the political position of the colonial axis powers in India. The political positions of all the powers in India were different. Political power in the Eighteenth and the Nineteenth centuries depended on military might and political intrigue. The British after the battles of Plassey, Buxar, Mysore and the Maratha wars was the dominant political and military power in India. The political imperatives of translation and the codification of information were more systematically done by British Orientalism on account of being a resident colonial power. Hence British Orientalism

as compared to the French and German Orientalism moves the entire spectrum of the cultural, linguistic, religious and the topographical aspects of India.

Coming to the nature of post-colonial studies today; the obvious question which affects readings in post-coloniality is the directional ideology of the readings itself. Most of the post-colonial debates today originate and are directed by the First World. The First World colonialism is driven by its own dynamics and is extremely a historical in nature and interpretation. The debates themselves are being treated as grand narratives of post colonizalism, without essentially recognising the plurality of the Third World post-colonial response. It manipulates reads and gives an agenda to the Third World. The terms First World and the Third World are the creations of the West. The Orientalism of the past had different versions for Arabia, Africa, India and other countries. The First World post colonizalism does not distinguish the old colonised nations in this manner. There is a danger of post colonial studies turning in readings which are uniform in nature and by being homogeneous; the post colonial studies can recreate a similar grand narrative of Orientalism which was erroneously read in that manner in the past.

NOTES

[1] David Koph, *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance: The Dynamics of Indian Modernisation 1773-1835* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969).

[2] David Koph, Introduction, *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance: The Dynamics of Indian Modernization 1773-1835* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969) 3.

[3] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (1978, New Delhi: Penguin, 2001).

[4] Raymond Schwab, *The Oriental Renaissance: Europe's Rediscovery of India and the East, 1680-1880*, trans. Gene Patterson – Black and Victor Reinking (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984).

[5] David Koph, Introduction, *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance: The dynamics of Indian Modernization 1773-1835* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press) 3.

[6] Koph, 3.

[7] Koph, 280.

[8] Koph, 275.

[9] Koph, 276.

[10] Koph, 277.

[11] Koph, 281.

[12] Raymond Schwab, *The Oriental Renaissance: Europe's Rediscovery of India and the East, 1680-1880,* trans. Gene Patterson-Black and Victor Reinking (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984) 11.

[13] Raymond Schwab, *Vie d'Anquetil Duperron Suivie de Usages Civil et Religieux des Parses Par, Anquetil – Duperron* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1934) 6.

[14] Raymond Schwab, *The Oriental Renaissance: Europe's Rediscovery of India and the East, 1680-1880*, trans. Gene Patterson – Black and Victor Reinking (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984) 477-78.

[15] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (1978, New Delhi: Penguin, 2001) 2.

[16] Edward Said, 16-17.

[17] Edward Said, 17.

[18] Edward Said, 25-26.

[19] Edward W. Said, *Power, Politics, And Culture: Interviews with Edward W. Said,* ed. Gauri Viswanathan (New York: Vintage, 2001) 266.

Chapter-2

Orient(aliz)ing Institutions and Individuals

Orientalism has its origins in the discourses of power. The discourse created institutions and modes of control over the colonies and the colonised subjects. The control was built covertly and overtly. Overt institutions included the visible institutions of power like the administrative apparatuses and the modes of rule like the judiciary and the law. The covert methods include the subject matter of Orientalism; which comprises the land, the people the customs and its codification. Orientalism is entwined by the notions of modernity and a scientific attitude that pervaded the nineteenth century attitudes and responses.

Modernity as a condition began in the West with the advent of industrialization. The effects of the Industrial revolution brought about a major sociological change which asserted itself in myriad ways. It had a huge impact on culture and the modes of production which went into the development and the production of culture. The roots of this modernism with its hegemonic economic and a cultural footprint which fuelled colonialism needs to be examined within the Nineteenth century; which exhibited the immense tensions which led to the growth of colonialism, modes of discourse; its responses and paradoxes.

Modernity was understood as a scientific notion and it led to a formation of a scientific attitude. Classification and organization was moulded with reason through the foundational background of history. This vision was essential to the colonising process. Colonization involves the appropriation as modes of control. Control over a colony involves economic, intellectual and geographical paradigms. The economic control over a colony was evident after the Battle of Plassey and The Battle of Buxar when

the East India Company assumed the Diwani of Bengal. The geographical control was also indirectly evident after the Mysore wars. The intellectual control assumed problems. The problems were mainly due to a lack of direct knowledge of the Indian culture, arts and society. This assumed critical importance due to the position occupied by the British after the Battle of Plassey. The British administration had assumed the role of conquerors and administrators. Administration required the knowledge of the population that was being controlled. Hegemonic control is only possible when the ideology of the dominant class supersedes the subaltern class. Intellectual control as a means of dialogue with the subaltern class is a natural process of colonial expansion.

Colonial expansion is associated with the rise of the middle class in the west. The rise of the bourgeoisie ideology was entwined with the notions of morality. Morality and rectitude brought about limiting structures both on the society in England as well as the colonies colonised by it. The Enlightenment project sought to bring out answers to the essential problems concerning society within England. This quest for a national order was later transposed to the colonies. The modernity within the Enlightenment brought about the colonial attitude and modes of perceiving, controlling and constructing reality. This projection to the search towards what were essentially internal contradictions within Western societies led to the restructuring within the colonies. The colonies began to be the testing ground as it were, to understand the notions of the Western self and being. This led to a search towards the notions of common origins and the prevalence of race theories which dominated the Nineteenth century. Hence we have the entire projects of translation, classification of Indian history and literature as a means of achieving a hegemonic control. The answers

and solutions to the notions of race saw its output in the translation projects which were pioneered by the Asiatic Society of Bengal and other organizations.

The organizations were instituted by people who were interested in the Indian culture and this fomented research projects in all indological disciplines. It involved translations; publications of tracts and the setting up of universities courses and faculty positions all over Europe and the United States through the formation of orientalistic societies. These societies and the people who headed them created one of the most powerful discourses known in history which coded entire civilizations through modes of classifications and translations. The Asiatic Society of Bengal was the primary institution in the early period of the British conquest in India. In France there was the La Bibliotheque du Roi and in Germany one had the Universities in Bonn and Leibniz. These were the early centres which brought about a rationalistic interpretation of the East and in a way created an occupational category of being a professional indologist. The Individuals who created and worked professionally in the field of indology included Sir William Jones, H.H. Wilson, H.T. Colebrooke, James Princep, Ksoma De Coros who were intimately connected with the Asiatic Society of Bengal in India.

William Jones had translated the A *Grammar of the Persian language* (1771). It had been acclaimed as one of the finest works undertaken in the area. Sir John Shore the Governor General and who became the President of the Asiatic Society later had commented:

> ....and I may venture to assert, that Mr. Jones was the only person in England, at that time, capable of producing a work, which required a critical knowledge of two foreign languages, one of which was scarcely known in Europe.[1]

The lack of direct first hand knowledge of the arts, culture and the literature of the people who were governing the empire can be noted in the preface to the Persian Grammar. Jones had commented in it on the lack of curiosity regarding the customs and the 'useful knowledge' in the far outreaches of the empire. This can be termed as the beginning of the Orientalistic drives that so characterised the Asiatic society. Jones mentions in the Preface to *A Grammar of the Persian language*:

> Some men never heard of the Asiatick writers and others will not be convinced that there is anything valuable in them; some pretend to be busy, and others are really idle; some detest the Persians, because they believe in Mohamed, and others despise their language, because they do not understand it: we all love to excuse, or to conceal our ignorance, and are seldom willing to allow any excellence beyond the limits of our own attainments: like the savages, who thought that the sun rose and set for them alone, and could not imagine that the waves, which surrounded their island, left coral and pearls upon any other shore. [2]

Samuel Johnson after examining the Jones's Persian Grammar had commented in a letter to Sir Warren Hastings. Here he mentions about the vast realm of knowledge useful or at the most an object of curiosity that so characterised the Orient. There it appears to be an overwhelming need on the part of the intellectuals and the governing members of the age of making the transition form traders to administrators and rulers. Johnson comments:

> .... My knowledge of them (of Eastern Countries) is too scanty to furnish me with proper topics of inquiry; I can only wish for information; and hope that a mind comprehensive like yours will find leisure....to inquire into many subjects of which the European world either thinks not at all, or thinks with deficient intelligence and uncertain

> conjecture. I shall hope that he who once intended to increase the learning of his country by the introduction of the Persian language, will examine nicely the traditions and histories of the East...That literature is not totally forsaking us, and that your favourite language is not neglected, will appear from the book, (S.W. Jones's I Grammar) have pleased myself more with sending, if I could have presented it bound, l but time was wanting.[3]

Warren Hastings the Governor General at the time had an appreciation of the problems the British administration had been facing. The biggest problem for a coloniser is the implementation of the law and the judiciary. The control of the subjects was based on the interpretation of the Indian traditional texts and codes. Hindu's and Muslims were governed according to their own religious codes. Many times this resulted in a corruption of the judiciary according to the British administration; as the pundits and Moulvis brought about an interpretation of their own codes. This resulted in bad justice and bad governance to the British. Warren Hastings while encouraging Charles Wilkins wrote the preface to his *Bhagavad Gita*; he notes:

> 'Every accumulation of knowledge and especially such as is obtained by social communication with people over whom we exercise a dominion founded over the right of conquest is useful to the state.[4]

M. Wintermitz in his *History of Indian Literature* mentions Hastings motives to understand the nature of Indian customs and legal viewpoints. He mentions

> Governor General Hastings had realized that to rule one needed to understand the social and religious prejudices of the natives. He got a work compiled by a number of

> Brahmins out of ancient law books under the title Vivadarnavsetu (Bridge over the ocean of dispute).The text was translated by Nathaniel Halhead in English after it had been translated into Persian. The translation was printed at the expense of the East India Company in 1776 under the title A code of Gentoo Law. 'Gentoo' is the Anglo-Indian form of the Portugese 'gentio', meaning 'heathen', and is used to designate, the Indian heathens, i.e. the Hindus in contradistinction to Mohammedans'.[5]

The increasing excesses of the East India Company and the growing complaints of corruption and the growth of the Nabobs had led to a gradual degradation of the East India Company. This had alarmed the government which through the Regulating Act of 1773 had transferred the authority and power from the Company to the crown. The old Calcutta council was replaced by a four man council which was nominated by parliament and not by the company directors. Warren Hastings had been appointed the first Governor General and Richard Barwell, John Clavering, Colonel George Monson and Philip Francis were the members of the council. The mayor's court in Calcutta handled minor commercial cases and the more complex judicial ones were to be submitted to the Supreme Court. Sir Elijah Impey was appointed the first Chief Justice, and Robert Chambers, Stephen Caesar Leominster and John Hyde were appointed the three Puisne Judges. On the death of Leominster in November 1777; Jones had become the Judge of the Supreme Court. William Jones after taking over the duties attached to the courts had commented on the lack of knowledge regarding the local laws and jurisprudence of India.[6] The growing growth and the importance of Sanskrit as a means and the modes of mapping a continent's social history is reflected in what Jones mentions: 'he would rather be a valetudinarian all his life that leave unexplored the Sanskrit

mine. [7] His attempts at acquiring the language are reflected in his actions which involved getting tutored by Indian pundits. This was extremely difficult as the pundits restricted the knowledge of the Vedas and Sanskrit in a form of a reverse power structure. Knowledge as Michel Foucault has observed is a form of a dominant discourse. Jones mentions in a letter to Sir J. Mac Pearson that, 'He jabbered Sanskrit every day with the native pundits'. [8] He also suspended the social relations and correspondence even with his dearest friends which characterises the age. [9] Jones mentions in a letter to Dr. Patrick Russel that he was tolerably strong in the new language after working hard on the language for a year.[10] Jones had noted in an earlier letter to Dr. Russel that:

> I am now at the ancient university of Nadeya, where I hope to learn the rudiments of that venerable and interesting language which was once vernacular in all India, and in both the peninsulas with their island.[11]

On May 6, 1786, he wrote a letter to J. Mac Pherson, expressing his ambition to become a 'Justinian of India' by giving his country a complete digest of Hindu and Mohammedan Law. Jones comments:

> I will by Gods blessing perform; and I could write on the subject to the minister, Chancellor, the Board of Control (sic), and the Directors, if I were not apprehensive that they who know the world, but do not fully know me, would think that I expected some advantages either of fame, or patronage, by purposing to be made the Justinian of India; whereas I am conscious of desiring no advantage, but the pleasure of doing general good. I shall consequently proceed in the work by my own strength, and will print my digest by degrees at my own expense, giving copies of it where I know they will be useful. One point I have already attained; I made the pundit of our court read and correct a copy of

> Halhead's book in the original Sanskrit, and I then obliged him to attest it as good law, so that he never now can give corrupt opinions, without certain detection.[12]

Jones mentions in the Second anniversary discourse:

> Nearly one half of jurisprudence is closely connected with ethics; but, since the learned of Asia consider most of their laws as positive and divine institutions, and not as the mere conclusions of human reason; and since I have prepared a mass of extremely curious materials which I reserve for an introduction to the digest of Indian laws.[13]

Jones further comments in his Second Anniversary discourse on his plan to translate and compile a digest of Hindu laws.

> If some standard law-tracts were accurately translated from the Sanskrit and Arabick, we might hope in time to see so complete a Digest of Indian Laws, that all disputes among the natives might be decided without uncertainty, which is in truth a disgrace, though satirically called a glory, to the forensick science.[14]

Jones mentions in a letter to Mac Pearson:

> My great object at which I have been labouring is to give our country a complete digest of Hindu and Mussalman law. I have enabled myself by excessive care to read the oldest Sanskrit law books with the help of a loose Persian paraphrase; and I have begun a translation of Menu in English.[15]

The ulterior motive of governance should be noted through a form of mental colonization. The principal aim of governance is to note the culture of the subject. The British found that they were at a disadvantage in terms of administering law; as they did not have the facility of understanding the notions of caste or the systems of law that had

been used and administered within the country. The aim of the translation projects during this phase was to familiarize them with the society as well as to get an understanding of the Indian mind. Of course it helped in the role of administration. Jones mentions in a letter dated Sept 28th, 1785 to Charles Chapman:

> ....for I can no longer bear to be at the mercy of our Pundits, who deal out Hindu law as they please, and make it at reasonable rates, when they cannot find it ready made.[16]

The translations of the codes and Hindu laws were not well received by the later Anglicists. The entire motives and the ideas of governance had changed. The clash between the Orientalists and the Anglicists can be noted in the observations below:

> The English translation from the Sanskrit was made by H.T. Colebrooke. There are conflicting opinions about the influence of the Digest on the succeeding generations. While Colebrooke's son and biographer believes that the Digest proved useful to jurists in India, Derrett holds the view that it helped very little in protecting the rights of property of the natives. James Mill described it 'as a disorderly compilation of loose vague, stupid and unintelligible quotations and maxims.' Bentham also regarded the work as something that was of no utility, a work that was the product of a genius who 'sent spinning cobwebs out of his own brain and winding them round the common law.[17]

It appears clear here that the views of the British administration included colonizing the minds of the people. Mental colonialism at this stage was still very nascent. Vast tracts of Indian history and literature were still not clear to the administrators. Without this knowledge it would have been next to impossible to rule. As a result a systematic reading of India's past and culture was necessary; which led to

the translation projects. One of the societies which had been indirectly responsible at least in the initial years was the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The numerous angles of enquiry can be noted here. This list of probable 'useful knowledge' can only be termed as the growing shadow of Orientalism entering the Indian way of life. The subsequent enquiry via the tracts of the Asiatic Society of Bengal would be instrumental in bringing about an entire pattern of Indian history and culture.

The Asiatic Society of Bengal was established on 15th February, 1784. It had Sir William Jones as the first president who through a series of discourses brought out the beginnings of imperial historiography of India. This was done through a series of studies undertaken on the countries, literature, culture and habits. According to the proceedings, much of the work done in physical archaeology and literary outputs were done by the members including Asiatic Society presidents and executive body members, who included William Jones, H.T.Colebrooke, H.H. Wilson, James Princep and Csoma de Koros. Along with them the role of William Carey of the Serampore Missionaries is extremely important.

There were the objectives for these translations. They gave:

a) An access to the native population

b) Their beliefs

c) Chronological time

d) A means to highlight certain aspects of history, not all of it.

e) Their literature.

By this one built an impression of a country and classes of people and the means to subvert history or rewrite history as suited; leading to increasing domination. The access to the native population was made through a series of interactions with the pundits, the establishments of colleges, schools and institutions. It was also done

through the means of the judiciary with the establishment of the faughdari courts and litigation benches. Interaction with the local population was also done via the establishment of collectors and the mamlatdars; within the areas. Most important it involved the covert support of the elite business class within the communities who represented the classes. Beliefs involved a systematic reading of the philosophy, religious texts and astronomy. This helped in the transformation from traders to administrators and later colonizers with the narrow blinkered vision. Humanities help us to understand the nature of reality as well as to bring about an expression of the reality. This understanding does not necessarily mean that it is scientific in nature. Many aspects of nature can be experienced through the modes of tropes and thematic representations. To get an understanding of the scientific nature of reality which was the corner stone of modernism then one has to understand the concept of time. Chronological time involved a tracing of history through direct or indirect archaeological evidence. This involved excavations, tracing reigns and lineages. Keeping within the paradigms of modernity it was necessary to make a detailed sense of the chronological time of the nation; which was entwined within mythological structures. This was the nature of Indian time where myths are a visible and an organic supra reality. The nature of time is cyclic in nature but it did not coincide with the sense of time which was displayed by the colonizer. As Amaury de Reincourt in his *Soul of India* comments,

> Arayan India had no memory because she focused her attention on eternity not on time... to the Indians; the supreme spiritual reality was a transfiguration of space and not of time of nature and not of history.[18]

This helped in the actual rewriting of history. History as a means of knowledge meant a discourse of power. Dissemination of knowledge could be made once the history of the nation was in place; which could lead to a better interpretation of the Indian culture and the nation. The Asiatic Society of Bengal had made a great effort in retrieving the past of India. The problem exists with the direct use of the knowledge. A lot of the research done was put to dual use; one to further the growing impact of Orientalism and the other for a better exercise and control of power for the subjugation of the colonies. Warren Hastings had refused the president ship of the Asiatic Society. Hastings had replied to the invitation by Sir William Jones in the following manner:

> ... on these grounds I request your permission to decline the offer which you have done me the honour to make to me, and to yield my pretensions to the gentleman whose genius planned the institutions, and is most capable of conducting it to the I attainment of the great and splendid purposes of its formation.[19]

Sir William Jones became its first president after Warren Hastings refused and addressed a series of annual discourses.

1. Feb 15th, 1784: 3rd Anniversary Discourse on History, Science and Art in India.[20]
2. Feb 15th, 1787 : 4th Anniversary Discourse on Arabia.[21]
3. Feb. 25th, 1790 : 7th Anniversary Discourse on China.[22]
4. Feb. 24th, 1791 : 8th Anniversary Discourse on the Borderers, Mountaineers and Islands of Asia.[23]
5. 28th Feb. 1793 : 10th Anniversary Discourse on Asiatic History, Civil and Natural.[24]

6. 2nd January, 1794 : 11th Anniversary Discourse on the Philosophy of the Asiatics.[25]

Jones mentions the major aim among all these discourses in his *3rd Anniversary Discourse on History, Science and art in India:*

> The five principal nations, who have in different ages divided among themselves as a kind of inheritance, the vast continent of Asia, with the many Indians depending on it, are the Indians, the Chinese, the Tartars, the Arabs and the Persians: who they severally were, whence and when they came, where they now are settled, and what advantage a more perfect knowledge of them all may bring our European world will be shown, I trust in five distinct essays; the last of which will demonstrate the connexion or diversity between them, and solve the great problem, whether they had a common origin and whether that common origin was the same which we generally ascribe to them. [26]

There are a number of premises operating here. There is the notion of common origins and race notions which characterised the nineteenth century. There is also the notion of gain which would accrue through the knowledge which was acquired. If Orientalism was the construction of the East then one see this in the beginnings of the British rule in India. Jones goes on further to add:

> ...Let me premise, that , in all these inquiries concerning the history of India, I shall confine my researches downwards to the Mohammedan conquests at the beginning of the eleventh century, but extend them upwards, as high as possible, to the earliest authentic records of the human species.By India, in short I mean that whole extent of country , in which the primitive religion and languages of the Hindus prevail at this day with more or less of their

> ancient purity, and in which the Nagar letters are still used with more or less deviation from their original form The inhabitants of this extensive tract are described by Mr. Lord with great exactness, and with a picturesque elegance peculiar to our ancient language: "A people, says he, presented themselves to mine eyes, clothed in linen garments somewhat low descending, of a gesture and garb, as I may say, maidenly and well nigh effeminate, of a countenance shy and somewhat estranged, yet smiling out a glozed and bashful familiarity". Mr Orm, the Historian of India, who unites an exquisite taste for every fine art with an accurate knowledge of Asiatick manners, observes in his elegant preliminary Dissertation, that this "country has been inhabited from the ancient antiquity by a people, who have no resemblance, either in their figure or manners, with any of the nations contiguous to them," and that, " although conquerors have established themselves at different times in different parts of India,, yet the original inhabitants have lost very little of their original character.[27]

One already notes the beginnings of the colonising construction which was based on difference here. The binary oppositions of modernity versus primitive; the idea of a timeless land where the language had not changed for a millenniums; the notion of a culture which was the source of all other cultures and a notion of timelessness which was the defining factor within the romanticism of the Orient. Jones goes on further to quote a poem from his classical heritage:

> The ancients, infact, give a description of them, which our early travellers confirmed, and our own personal knowledge of them nearly verifies; as you will persive from a poem from a passage in the Geographical poem of Dionysius, which the ancient Mythology has translated with great spirit:

"To th' east a lovely country wide stands,
"India, whose borders the wide ocean bounds;
"On this the sun, new rising from the main,
"Smiles pleas'd, and sheds his early orient beam,
"Th' inhabitants are swart, and in their locks,
"Betray the tints of the dark hyacinth.
"Various their functions; some the rock explore,
"And from the mine extract the latent gold;
"Some labour at woof, with cunning skill,
"And manufactures linen; other shape
"And polish iv'ry with the nicest care:
"Many retire to the rivers shoal, and plunge
"To seek beryl flaming in its bed,
"Or glitt'ring diamond. Oft the jasper's found
"Green, but diaphanous: the topaz too
"Of ray serene and pleasing; last of all
"The lovely amethyst, in which combine
"All the mild shades of purple. The rich soil,
'Wash'd by a thousand rivers, from all sides
"Pours on the natives wealth with control"[28]

The figures of speech which describe the Orient and India need to be noticed here. Most of the tropes are those of commerce and economics. India is seen in economic terms which points to the later exploitation of India by the East India Company. The transformation from traders to colonizers was economic in nature. The East India Company had an economic agenda within its charter which later grew expansionist in nature through conquest. Jones further comments;

Their sources of wealth are still abundant after so many revolutions and conquests; and their features have, most probably, remained unaltered since the time of Dionysius; nor can we reasonably doubt, how degenerate and abased so ever the Hindus may now appear, that in some early age they were splendid in arts and arms, happy in government, wise in legislation, and eminent in various knowledge: but, since their civil history beyond the middle of the nineteenth century from the present time, is involved in a cloud of fables, we seem to possess only four general media of satisfying our curiosity concerning it ; namely, first, their Languages and Letters; secondly, their Philosophy and Religion ; thirdly, the actual remains of their old Sculpture and Architecture; fourthly, the written documents of their Sciences and Arts....

The Sanskrit language, whatever be its antiquity, is of a wonderful structure; more perfect than the Greek, more copious than Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either, yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity, both in the roots of words and in the forms of grammar, than could possible have been produced by accident ; so strong indeed , that no philologer could examine them all three, without believing them to have sprung from some common source, which perhaps no longer exists......

Of these cursory observations on the Hindus , which it would require volumes to expand and illustrate, this is the result: that they had an immemorial affinity with the old Persians, Ethiopians and the Egyptians, the Phoenicians, Greeks and Tuscans , the Scythians or Goths and Celts or the Chinese, Japanese, and the Peruvians; whence, as no reason appears for believing , that they were a colony from any one of those nations, or any of those nations from them, we may fairly conclude, that they all proceeded from some

> central country, to investigate which will be the object of my future discourses....[29]

Jones comments on the agenda of time studies. It was important as mentioned earlier to gain an understanding of the nature of Indian time and convert it to the Western one to get an understanding of Indian history. This was imperative to get an understanding of a culture which was extremely alien at the time. Jones in the discourses below goes to the central thesis within linguistic studies of his time. He talks about the nature of early Western and Indian culture and the possibility of common roots and origins. Though he had spent the maximum amount of time in his later years in India on the Digest of Hindu laws and the translations of Manu; Jones primary interest lay in comparative linguistics and literature. He comments:

> As my few hours of leisure will now be devoted to Sanskrit literature, I cannot but hope, though my chief object be a knowledge of Hindu law, to make some discovery in other sciences, which I shall impart with humility, and which you will, I doubt not, receive with indulgence.[30]

Jones further mentions in his *Forth Anniversary discourse on Arabia*

> Having shown in the five discourses, that the Arabs and Tartars were originally distinct races, while the Hindus, Chinese, and Japanese proceeded from another ancient stem, and that all the three stems may be traced to Iran, as to a common centre, from which it is highly probable, that they diverged in various directions about four thousand years ago. 1 may seem to have accomplished my designs of investigating the origins of the Asiatick nations; but the questions which I undertook to discuss, are not yet ripe for a strict analytical argument; and it will first be necessary to examine with scrupulous attention all the detached or insulated races of men, who either inhabit the borders of India, Arabia, Tartery, Persia and China, or are interspersed in the mountainous and uncultivated parts of those extensive

> regions. To this examination I shall, at our next annual meeting, allot an entire discourse; and if, after all our inquiries, no more than three primitive races can be found, it will be a subsequent consideration, whether those three stocks had one common root, and, it they had, by what means that root was preserved amid the violent shocks, which our whole globe appears evidently to have sustained.[31]

Jones goes on to add pointing to the common linguistic roots within cultures in his *Eighth Anniversary Discourse on the Borderers, Mountaineers, and Islanders of Asia*.

> We have taken a general view, at our five last annual meetings; and of as many celebrated nations, whom we have proved, as far as the subject admit of proof, to have descended from three primitive stocks, which we call for the present Indian, Arabian, Tartarian; and we have nearly travelled over all Asia, if not with a perfect coincidence of sentiment, at least, with as much unanimity, as can be naturally accepted in a large body of men, each of whom must assert it as his right, and consider it as his duty, to decide all points for himself, and never to decide on all points for himself, and never to decide on obscure points without the best evidence, that can be possibly adduced: our travels will this day be concluded, but our historical researches would have been left incomplete, if we had passed without attention over the numerous races of borderers, who have long been established on the limits of Arabia, Persia, India, China, and Tartary; over the wild tribes residing in the mountainous parts of those extensive regions; and the more civilized inhabitants of the islands annexed by geographers to their Asiatic division of this globe.[32]

The main paradigms which were used by the linguists within this period were the myths of the flood and myth of the Tower of Babel. They are consistent with the structures of myths being transcontinental in nature and are prevalent in all known cultures. Jones comments below keeping the nature of British interests in mind. One sees the nature of the dual use that Indological studies had been utilised to further British interests. Jones remarks:

> The sketch of antediluvian history, in which we find many dark passages, is followed by the narrative of a deluge, which destroyed the whole race of man, except four pairs; an historical fact admitted true by every nation to whose literature we have access, and particularly by the ancient Hindus, who have allotted an entire Purana to the detail of that event, which they relate, as usual, in symbols or allegories.......
>
> My design, gentlemen, of tracing the origin and progress of the five principal nations, who have peopled Asia, and of whom there were considerable remains in their several countries at the time of Muhammad's birth, is now accomplished; succinctly, form the nature of these essays; imperfectly, from the darkness of the subject and scantiness of my materials, but clearly and comprehensively enough to form a basis for subsequent researches: you have seen, as distinctly as I am able to show, who those nations originally were,, whence and when they moved toward their final stations; and in my future annual discourses, *propose to enlarge on the particular advantages to our country and to mankind, which may result from our sedulous and united inquiries into the history, science and arts, of these Asiatick regions, especially of the British dominions in India, which we may consider as the centre (not of the human race, but) of our common exertions to promote its true interests;* and we shall concur, I trust, in our opinion,

that the race of man, to advance whose manly happiness is our duty and will of course be our endeavour, cannot long be happy without virtue, nor actively /virtuous without freedom, nor securely free without rational knowledge. [33] (Emphasis mine)

The nature of the ethnological study is enumerated in his *Eleventh discourse on the Philosophy of the Asiaticks.* It would amount to a complete understanding of the Indian people and culture that was necessary for the administration of the land.

....whence his collected wisdom, being arranged in the form of science, chiefly consists of physiology and medicine, metaphysics and logic, ethics and jurisprudence, natural philosophy and mathematics; from which the history of nature (since revealed religion must be referred to as history, as alone affording evidence of it) has in all ages and in, all nations been the sublime and the consoling result. Without professing to have given a logical definition of science, or to have exhibited a perfect enumeration of its objects, I shall confine myself to those five divisions of Asiatick philosophy; enlarging for the most part on the progress which the Hindus have made in them. The first subject affords little scope; since I have no evidence that, in any language of Asia, there exists one original treatise on medicine considered as a science: physic, indeed, appears in these regions to have been from time immemorial, as we see it practised at this day by Hindus and Muselmans, a mere empirical history of diseases and remedies; useful I admit, in a high degree, and worthy of attentive examination, but wholly foreign to the subject before us....but examine them we must, if we wish to complete the history of universal philosophy, and to supply the scholars of Europe with authentic materials for an account of the opinions recently formed on this head by the philosophers of Asia.[34]

In all the discourses the preoccupation with the common source and classification points to a problem within the body of colonialism which is homogenization; of clubbing entire races together on a common platform in a search for a common source. The other is classification. The need to search for a common source was a result of the numerous race theories which had been prevalent during the nineteenth century. The need for the search was to validate the colonial presence. The Colonial policy has to validate the presence with a particular motive. The search for the common source of origins was based on the premise that exemplary progress was achieved by the West. The disturbing angle was that the East had a culture which was comparable to the existing Mediterranean cultures like the Greeks and the Romans. The Indians had a thriving civilization with trade and commerce which could be documented through the centuries. The fact that the civilization had declined in terms of material and scientific progress ; compared to the West in the nineteenth century did not explain the lack of the same civilizational excellence in the West. This led to the philological studies in Sanskrit as it turned out to be one of the source languages during the development of European languages. The Vedic period could infact be the lost documentation for a part of history that was missing. In a projectionist way the West had to explain the lack of direct documentation of the origins of the western civilizations via the Orient. There is an appropriation of the Oriental past within the Oriental philological studies. The Indian past within the Indian condition becomes the site of appropriation by philologists like Sir William Jones. The Vedic age essentially becomes the missing link within the historiography of the West. It points to the origins of the progress made by the West. The Indians could not achieve the same degree of progress due to the inherent weaknesses within their own culture; which became the reason for the colonial presence. There is a notion of curiosity

involved with the Orient along with a premeditated notion of its society, culture and beliefs. This notion is noted in the correspondence with the Asiatic Society. In a letter addressed to William Jones on the 19th February, 1794, the Bishop of Landaff comments:

> Asia is an unexplored country; its written histories probably are not of any great antiquity, but its traditonary history reaches, I apprehend to times most remote. There are two points in Theology which I wish to see examined with cases. The fall, and the Deluge- are there no traditional accounts, no matter how absurd and fabulous, which can justly be supposed to be derived from these great events! These events are so astonishing a nature, that all vestiges of them can never, I think, have been effaced from the memory of any great part of human species. Another subject of enquiry is, whether there are any marks of Judaism among any of the castes. It has often been said that the Brahmins are descended from Abraham In short , to include many questions in one, is there any reason from the antiquity, and manners and religions from the country you are in, to suspect that the inhabitants are not derived from the same Noachic stock as ourselves? Another serious investigation would be the tracing from the reliques of Grecian manufactures and customs now subsisting in Hindustan. The rise, progress and declension of the commerce which subtitled between the Indians and the Greeks, and a similar attention might be given to Roman commerce.[35]

Remoteness is one of the characteristics of Romanticism which fuelled the Orient and its institutions. This is noted in a letter addressed by William Jones to Mr Justice Hyde on the 14th May, 1784. It is the reading on the *Shrimad Bhagvatam* which becomes a symbol of curiosity and is treated in a jocular manner. It becomes a symbol of entertainment against the testimony of faith for which the book stands.

'I am inexpressibly amused by a Persian translation of an Old Sanskrit book, called Siry Bhagwat, which comprises almost the whole of the Hindu religion, and contains the life and achievements of Chrishen ; it is by far the most entertaining book, on account of its novelty and wildness, that I ever read.[36]

Robert Chambers who became the president of the society after the demise of Sir William Jones made his presidential address on the 22nd May, 1794. Eulogizing Sir William Jones he mentions in his address;

'Such were the motives that induced him to propose to the government of this country, what he justly denominated a work of national utility and importance, the compilation of a copious digest of Hindu and Mohammedans laws, from Sanskrit and Arabic originals with an offer of his services to superintend the compilation, and with an promise to translate it. He had forseen previous to his departures from Europe, that without the aid of such a work, the wise and benevolent intentions of the legislature of Great Britain, in leaving to a certain extent, the natives of these provinces in possession of their own laws, could be completely fulfilled; and his experience, after a short residence in India, confirmed what his sagacity had anticipated, that without principals to refer to, in a language familiar to the judges of the courts, adjudications amongst the natives, much too often be subject, to an uncertain and erroneous exposition, or willful misinterpretation of their laws.

During the course of this compilation, and as auxiliary to it, he was led to the study the works of Manu, reputed by the Hindus to be the oldest, the holiest of legislators; and finding them, to comprise a system of religious and civil duties, and of law in all its branches, so comprehensive and minutely exact, that it might be considered to be the Institutes of Hindu law, he presented a translation of them

> to the Government of Bengal. During the same period, deeming no labour excessive or superfluous that tended in any respect, to promote the welfare or happiness of mankind he gave the public an English version of the Arabic text of the Sirajiyyah or Mohammedan law of Inheritance, with a commentary. He had already published in England, a translation of a Tract on the same subject, by another Mohammedan lawyer, containing, as his own words excess, a lively and an elegant epitome of the law of inheritance, according to Zaid.[37]

Chambers also commented in his discourse on a Desiderata written in Joneses hand writing which he received after his demise on the attainable sciences histories of India, Arabia. China and Tartary.

The list is limited to India. The Desiderata included:

1. The ancient geography of India from the Puranas.
2. A botanical description of Indian plants from the Coshas.
3. A grammar of the Sanskrit language from Panini.
4. A dictionary of the Sanskrit language, from thirty-two original vocabularies and Nicruti.
5. On the ancient Mufick of the Indians.
6. On the Medicinal substances of India and the Indian art of Medicine.
7. On the philosophy of the ancient Indians.
8. A translation of the Veda.
9. On ancient Indian geometry, astronomy and algebra.
10. A translation of the Puranas.
11. Translations of the Mahabharata and the Ramayana.
12. On the Indian Theatre.
13. On the Indian constellations, with their mythology from the Puranas.

14. The history of India from the Mohammedan conquests from Sanskrit Kashmir histories.[38]

There is also an interesting proposal published in the Asiatick Researches in 1799.

> 'a list of such oriental subjects as require further illustrations',...inviting communications on the following, e.g. 1) Religion policy, jurisprudence, Manners and customs, 2) Geography; 3) biography, 4) Commerce, Natural History Materia Medica, 5) Medicine and surgery, 6) Language and Literature.[39]

What one reads within these Desiderata along with the translations of the codes is the interesting view of Warren Hastings as knowledge being 'useful' to the state. Jones's Desiderata is India's history civil and natural, being written about a native colonized country within an imperial design.

Csoma De Koros was a Hungarian who had helped define Buddhist studies in India. This is a case of scholarship which had taken place in a systematic manner at the behest of the British Government. There is an extensive set of correspondence between him and the Asiatic Society. He had become the Societie's Librarian, though he had later tendered his resignation to pursue his Tibetan studies. He had made a systematic study of Tibetan Grammar and Vajrayana Buddism. He is also responsible for the translations of the Kagyur and the Tangyur and the vocabulary of the Tibetan language, literature and the ancient history of Tibet. He had been constantly on the pay role of the British Government and there are at least ten such letters where there is a direct request either to the government or the society for financial aid. In his letters he appears reluctant at times to ask for aid, and the scholar in him rebels against the government commissions but working independent of the society for a long time nevertheless he was constantly in touch

with one captain Kennedy who was the political agent and the commanding officer at Soobathoo. A letter dated 29th July, 1825 written by A Stirling states:

> Government and the local authorities having satisfied themselves that his objects & pursuits are no other than those avoved -viz-literature and ancient history of Tibet, permission was granted to him to proceed & it was determined to afford him some pecuniary aid, in return for which Mr De Koros has expressed his wish to place. The results of his literary labor & enquiries at the disposal of the British Government.[40]

The role of Koros exemplifies the dual nature of sponsored nature on the part of the British government. A letter addressed by A Stirling states the acceptance by the British government in the role of Tibetan researches. Tibet shares great similarities within Indian culture and in these early stages of research this was noted by the British.

> You are aware that, in November or December last, a Hungarian Traveller, named Csoma de Koros, made his appearance at Subathoo, on his way to Tibet, bringing with him a letter of introduction from Mr. Moorcroft. Government and the local authorities having satisfied themselves that his objects & pursuits are no other than those avoved-viz: the prosecution of researches into the languages,, literature & ancient history of Tibet, permission was granted him to proceed, & it was determined to afford him some pecuniary aid, in return for which Mr. De Koros has expressed his wish to place the results of his literary labour & enquiries, at the disposal of the British Government.
>
> It appears to Govt, desirable that we should take advantage of this opportunity for procuring a good Grammar & vocabulary of the Tibetan language, & also translations of

some of the historical tracts which Mr. De Koros states himself to have collected & the best way of turning his services & acquirements to account, will obviously be through the medium of the Asiatic Society.

I have been directed therefore, to transmit to you the accompanying copies of two reports furnished by Mr. De Koros, & to invite the society to open a communication with him on the subject f his present researches. Mr De Koros will also be requested, through the Delhi authorities, to address his future correspondence to yourself, & to be guided by any advice or suggestions that may be offered by you, regarding the writings & objects to which his attention should be mainly directed.

I beg to add, in conclusion, that your letters should be directed to the care of Capt: Kennedy, Political Assistant, stationed at Subathoo.

I am, My Dear Sir, Yours very truly.

A.Stirling. [41]

Csoma De Koros mentions in a letter to Captain Kennedy his acceptance of working for the British government. His extreme reluctance for working for pecuniary advantages must be noted here. He appears to be the only Orientalist unlike others who was working for sake of the work itself. Unfortunately the work by Koros which was essential for Buddhist studies and other ethnological studies within Tibetan, The Chinese and the Mongol races was put to dual use by the British Government. The letter states:

I have the honour to acknowledge the communication of a letter sent to you, in November, last year, by the Secretary to the Asiatic Society, Dr. Wilson. I am very much obliged to you for your kindness shown to me, since my first arrival

to this place, in receiving my letters or reports and providing them to the government with added recommendation for my part.

2. Since my former reports addressed to you, I have developed the contents of the Tibetan literary works, and have specified some papers in my possessions, as also given a scheme of a Grammar, vocabulary and other works which I am about to prepare, now 1 will not expatiate again on Tibetan literature; I think it to be sufficient to state.

4. I was disappointed in my intention by the indolence and negligence of that Lama, to whom I returned. I could not finish my planned works as I had proposed and promised. I have lost my time and cost. But I have brought now with me many smaller printed volumes of good authority, treating o grammar, chronology, Astronomy and on moral subjects. I have sufficient materials for a grammar and being acquainted with the grammatical structure of the language, now I am able to prepare this elementary work so large as they will require. The dictionary is too large, it is yet in pure Tibetan, written by a good hand, in capital characters of small size, arranged alphabetically. I had not yet leisure to add the signification of each word, in English. I can translate the greatest part, without mistake, but for the explanation of many words I want yet the assistance of an intelligent Tibetan. I have also an extract of chronology, geography and literary history, written by the Lama, according to my direction

5. I will not make my application to the Government as Mr. Wilson advises me. I am now also under heavy obligations to the Government and to some gentlemen. I never menth to

take money, under whatever form for the edition of my works. I will prepare them to the best of my ability, and afterwards I wish to convince some qualified oriental scholars of the authenticity and correctness of my communication and I shall be happy to deliver to your government all my papers of Tibetan literature, for the received assistance from His Lordship in Council, and from other Gentlemen. My honor is dearer to me than the making (as they say) of my fortune. I 6. I have resolved not to return again to whatever part of Tibet, until I shall no have delivered to the Government my present materials. I humbly beseech you, have the kindness to take me under your protection and patronage, this year, and be pledged or security, before the Government, if it be necessary for my conduct. I shall endeavour to be worthy of your patronage. I wish to live a retired life till October instant, either at this place or in the neighbourhood, wherever you please to permit me to reside. I have the honour to be with the greatest respect, sir, Your most obedient, humble and very obliged servant Alexander Csoma De Koros.[42]

A letter dated 21st March, 1827 remarks:

Subhathoo, 21st March, 1827.

I have seen a letter from Dr. Wilson secretary to the Asiatic Society, speaking of the great remarks of such works in the literary world, & holding out encouragements to Mr Csoma, since the receipt of which he has, from his own account, acquired a knowledge of the structure and formation of the language, fully adequate to the undertaking & were he called on by the government, which he states to be the object, would engage to produce not only a Grammar, but a general treatise on the religious & moral characters of the numerous works in the Tibetan language. I have been anxious that he should succeed. We have a

> vague report here respecting a grammar in manuscript left unfinished by a gentleman, who died before it could be completed. It is stated that he was receiving pay from our Government at the time. Will you oblige me with a line informing me, whether there is any foundation for this report & believe me, my dear sir.[43]

The Asiatic Society had become a conduit for financial assistance as well as representation towards the British Government. The connection between Koros and the Asiatic Society is extremely clear regarding this. It also takes a form of financial assistance. A letter dated 3rd April, 1827 states:

> Mr Csoma is very anxious to hear from you, in reply to his letter of the 18th January last. I have just introduced him to Lord Amherst. He proposes to remain here, & to compile his dictionary & Grammar of the Tibetan language until next October. I rather suspect that Mr Csoma's finances are at a low ebb, and here we shall be able to approach Government for a further grant to him. I am not very certain perhaps a letter from the Asiatic Society should be the most proper channel, to expect a further donation of a few hundred Rupees for him.[44]

Koros mentions his researches and progress towards the Tibetan studies and that he would furnish the entire objects of his research towards the British government. One also notes that the research was directed by the British interests with references towards Tibetan history, grammar, geography and orthography. He mentions in a letter to Captain Kennedy:

> ... my objects of research are a comprehensive grammar, vocabulary and an account on Tibetan books and learning. The grammar and literary history I can give whenever I shall be desired to furnish them and will accompany them with a short geography and a succinct chronological history

> of Tibet in Tibetan and-English. But as there is yet nothing fixed with respect to Tibetan orthography[45]

The nature of the relationship can be noted by the warmest offers of financial help and the support towards research by the Asiatic society. H.H. Wilson comments:

> I am directed by the Asiatic society to inform you that as they feel much interest in the nature of your literary enquiries in Thibet, and anticipate highly valuable results from your zeal and perseverance they wish to promote the success of your labours by contributing as far as their means will permit to your support. With this view they have determined to grant you 50 Rupees a month, commencing from the 1st of June and I have accordingly addressed an order to the Political Agent at Soobathoo, in your favour for 100 Rupees with a request that he will forward the amount to your address.[46]

There can be no doubt about Csoma De Koros and scholarship. Of all he appears to be the least influenced by the entire aspect of imperial rule, though he was one who had constantly received government aid. He always appears to be apologetic about it. Still one cannot deny the government angle behind him, which clearly aimed to put the entire research into Tibetan literature for a more practical use. In one letter H.H. Wilson in his extensive correspondence makes an interesting comment in the proceedings dated 2nd February 1814. He mentions:

> A collection of substances, which are the objects of the sciences and those religions which illustrate ancient times and manners has always been one of the first steps taken by societies instituted for the dissemination of specific or universal knowledge.[47]

H.T. Colebrooke in a letter published in the Asiatic Society proceedings dated 7th October, 1807, comments displaying a growing nexus between the Semaphore missionaries, the Fort William College and the Asiatic Society. He writes.

> Entirely acceding to the opinion expressed by you on the expediency of promoting so useful an undertaking, we have determined, on the part of the college of Fort William,, to concur with the Asiatic Society in affording to Mr. Carey and other missionaries at Semaphore the support requested by them, as far as extends to one work to be approved by the Asiatick Society and by the council of the college.[48]

The aim of dissemination is also seen in William Carey's advertisement on the preface to his translation of the Ramayana. He remarks:

> A clear idea of the religion and literature, the manners and the customs of the Hindus, can be obtained only from a connected perusal of their writings. [49]

Carey goes on further to add:

> ... this translation of the Ramayana will furnish the best account of the Hindoo mythology that any one book will and has the extravagancy enough to excite a wish to read it through.

It has an orientalistic thread running through it. It is the notion of extravagance, remoteness, the nobility and the construction of a society via a body of representation as Said comments:

> ...is the body of the Orient that places things oriental in class, court, prison or manual for scrutiny, study, discipline or governing.[50]

The Asiatic society had protested against the cutting of grants which had been allotted to them under the Charter Act of 1813 during the Anglacist and the Orientalists controversy. There are a series of letters addressed to the council of education against this. The thing is that by 1835 most of the spiritual, theatrical, medicinal and

astronomical texts had been translated leading to a picture of India's past its people and history. The famous decoding of the Asokan Edicts by James Princep, Jones translations of the Codes and Laws along with Sakuntala, the translation of the Holy books by Carey and Collebrooke, Wilson’s translations of the Gita, systems of philosophy and the Puranas, Koros and Tibetan literature, Macnaghten on grammarian legal opinion, Mill on Vedanta and Sankhya, the discovery of Buddism and the Buddha, Chandragupta Maura, Samudragupta, Bimbisara along with the Sakhas, Pallavas, dynasties of mid India , Vijaynagar, the Bahamini kingdom, the discovery of Sarnath, India's Botany, archeological findings, numismatic evidence and sculpture which are noted in the tracts of the society brings a fairly broad history of India which was more or less being constructed by 1835. Moreover members drawn during 1831-41 were divided between the Anglicists and the Orientalists. Modernity had usurped in science and a scientific temper, which had helped in the construction of a chronological history of India independent of the fables and myths of the Puranas. This led to a disruption of Oriental studies around 1835.Modernity is a condition, which impresses various strictures and changes from time to time. Anglization inspired by the Enlightenment project was a prime requisite after the 1835 Minute and lesser attention was paid to Orientalistic studies. What one perceives till 1835 is this ambivalent attitude of what can be termed as political translations to aid the imperialistic process in the sense that there were people like Jones and Hastings who were genuinely interested in the Indian culture, but the slippage at times which aided the Imperialistic process must be noted. The influence of the Orientalists on the local population and the world in the field of Oriental studies can be best emphasised by the following composition by the Kamalakanta Vidyalankar a pundit, it reads:

> The honourable company, generous, pursuing a course of integrity, very dexterous, learned, compassionate; and exalted, skilled in the velocities and motion of fire, air and water (the laws of the elements), never relaxing from their determination, - deeply conversant in their own religion, with equity protecting their subjects and enjoying their trust,- moving forward to aid the aggrieved who come to them for help, may they long live the protectors of the world! By their own mighty power to maintain the rule of Aryavarta and all India have they deputed thousands of men, eminent either in commerce, in religion, in the administration of justice, or in war who arriving with full knowledge of their respective grades, have performed and do perform their duties with regularity. Among these, the names of Jones, Colebrooke, Sutherland, Carey, Wilson, Macnaghten, and Mill, (have been conspicuous) for their acquirements in the Sanskrit language. Of how many highly instructive and entertaining books, by their individual talents in forming a complete analysis, have they reproduced the facsimiles in various other languages. In the midst of these, pre-eminent stands the name of Jones the minister of justice, the cheerful, the very clever, justly endued with the title of Judge.
>
> Though the celebrity of his knowledge he has become the theme of conversion among the learned. Having perused the shastras, by skill he translated into his native tongue the famous drama of the birth of India's king. He first arranged in alphabetical order for the benefit of Sanskrit students of the Cosha (or dictionary of Amera Singh)[51]

The role of the Asiatic society is important in the early stages of the British historiography in India. The documentary evidence that is available reveals the dual nature of the British enquiry. It can be said in defence of the Asiatic society that they

rediscovered the past of India that had been lost due to a variety of factors. These could be sheer apathy on the part of the Indian populace or the lack of scientific preservation techniques. It must be also mentioned that the long history of India and the nature of the feudal authorities and the numerous princely states made the matter of preservation practically impossible. The time period which was under the study of the Asiatic Society of Bengal had been a period of roughly 6000 years. The nature of the Indian mind has never examined history in the western sense. The role of time in both the cultures has been very different. The western nature of linear time was an alien concept to India. The concept of time has been a cyclic one which does not appear logical within the Darwinian notions of existence and development. The cyclic notion of time in India is based on myths which are a part of the living culture of the land. The role of myths is never logical as they are a part of the earliest memories which is infact the part of the prehistory of nations where they share common roots and similarities. The British during their imperialistic presence encountered this "Other"; in the early stages of occupation. The lack of credible resources led to a systematic study of India. Napoleon had done this too during his expedition to Egypt where a systematic study of Egyptian culture was undertaken. The Asiatic society was founded by sympathetic individuals. The 17th and the 18th centuries are replete with accounts of how the early British colonists had absorbed the Indian culture and adopted the Indian customs until the beginning of the 19th century. There are numerous cases where they married into the ruling families and lived their entire lives in India. William Dalrymple in his work *The White Mughals* [52] brings out the blur which occupies this period before the puritan attitudes of Victorian England took force and the 'Twilight period' as William Dalrymple defines it came to an end.

The role of the Asiatic society displays a great sense of scholarship; which cannot be denied. The problem lies in the dual use of the scholarship. This is a clear case of genuine interest in the culture of the land; but the implications of the nature of the findings can be termed as disturbing. The Asiatic society of India examined and constructed entire tracts of Indian history. There were extensive studies within theology, philosophy, literature and archaeological sciences. A lot of this was very

'useful knowledge' as Hastings put it. The findings of the Asiatic society were put to imperialistic ends. The act of ruling implies the understanding of the culture of ones subjects. This had been achieved by the numerous orientalists who worked for the consolidation of the empire. This does not condemn the effort put in the scholarly pursuits. A large number of the orientalists who had worked and contributed to the Asiatick Researches were in fact serving East India Company officers posted as collectors and administrative officers in the various districts. The body of information brought out definitely helped in the administration of the nation. The Asiatic Society has seen a number of commendations and a number of full-length studies have been devoted to it.

II

The Asiatic Society of Bengal has attracted a lot of attention on account of its central importance in the fields of Indology and Orientalism. The commentaries on the Asiatic Society have more or less been favorable in its review. Most of the historians and commentators like O.P.Kejariwal, David Koph and S.N. Mukherjee have examined the role of the Asiatic Society in detail. All the commentaries which examine the

Society examine the problem of history. The commentators who examine the history comment on the ‘lack’ of history on the part of India. The Asiatic Society of Bengal had in its first fifty years uncovered a lot of India’s history. The Orientalists from William Jones to James Princep had uncovered India’s past in the fields of literature, Art and Archeology. The commentaries by the historians mentioned the society for its efforts. They fail to examine the society and its efforts critically enough. The effect of Orientalism hangs heavy and the commentaries fail to interrogate the society and its efforts. The Asiatic Society of Bengal can be viewed in two perspectives. One cannot deny the efforts of the Society in decoding information) which is extremely important. Their discoveries within art, literature and archeology uncovered valuable details of India’s poet. At the same time the role of the Imperialistic coloniser and the act of governance cannot be ignored. A lot of this information was used for imperialistic purposes Janardan P. Singh states:

> From a study of the foregoing pages it will be clear that Sir William Jones was one of the greatest gifts which England made to the East in general and to India in particular.[53]

Singh’s biography of William Jones is a documentary of an admirable length but it fails to examine the motives of Sir William Jones and the Asiatic Society. The imperial historiographical trap comes through very clearly here. Singh goes on to add:

> Interested in understanding the profound spiritual, emotional and aesthetics forces of the Oriental mind, Jones went first to Arabic and Persian classics and subsequently to Sanskrit literature. Revealing the beauty of their thought and music, he tried to put them on a par with the Western classics, coined catching phrases by describing Firdausi as the Homer of Persea and Kalidasa as the Shakespeare

> of India and created a new aesthetic taste for their works.[54]

Orientalism was a comparative exercise. The entire role of classifying the past of India and setting comparative standards with the west was an imperial exercise. Singh in biography on Jones writes on his Arabic and Persian phase and he writes on length on his Indian phase. He also has a chapter on Jones as a philologist. He eulogises the efforts as a genuine attempt on the part of Jones and the society in decoding India's past. Singh examines the society to bring out the efforts of the society. He fails to penetrate or understand the motives of Orientalism.

Thomas R. Trautmann also takes a similar view regarding the activities of these early British Orientalists and the Asiatic Society. Within the book Trautmann examines the mosaic ethnology of Jones, race theory, the British indomnia and indophobia. He speaks about the role of 'New Orientalism' [55] which he describes as a collaborative effort on the part of the Indians and the British. Trautmann does not examine the implications of the Asiatic Society researches. His concern with the notion of race excludes the ultimate motives of imperialism. He remarks:

> We are long-lost him, we are Aryan brethren, to use the phrase of Max Muller. The colonial encounter of the two nations thereupon takes on the sense of one of those television programmes in which orphans separated at a tender age are reunited many years after – the Aryan love story as family reunion. In the British vision of India, then the Aryan idea always has the function of being a sign of the kinship between the two nations.[56]

Trautmann examines the relationship between the Orientalists and India in terms of a willing collaboration between the coloniser and the colonised. He traces the nature of

the race theories and also traces the nature of the race ethnology within William Jone's discourses. By tracing the ethnology and the nature of race it should be clear to readers about the dubious nature of the Orientalists inquiry. Trautmann fails in this regard where after tracing the role of the Orientalistic Imperialism; he does not attribute it as an aggressive form of Imperialism. The native of race theories was to hegemonise the imperial presence through ethnology. Trautmann treats the whole exercise in his preface as a love story between two cultures. He does not examine the motives of the entire notion of race or the native of ethnology and its implications within the 19th century. The native of Jone's discourses are not analysed in terms of imperialism.

David Koph who wrote extensively on nineteenth century Bengal mentions on the activities of the Asiatic Society:

> .... served as avenues linking the regional elite with the dynamic civilization of contemporary Europe. They contributed to the formation of a new Indian middle class and assisted in the professionalization of the Bengali intelligentsia. They started schools, systematized languages brought printing and publishing to India, and encouraged the proliferation of books, journals, newspapers, and other media of communication. Their output was urban and secular. They built the first scientific laboratories in India and taught European medicine. They were neither static classicists nor averse to the idea of progress, and they historicized the Indian past and stimulated consciousness of history in the Indian intellectual.[57]

Koph examines the second facet of Imperialism. There is no denying that the British had contributed to the growth of the Indian industry and the administration. The growth of the railways and the postal and telegraph system can be attributed to them. There were positive effects within the British rule in India. Koph completely misses the

second fact of imperialism which is the dominance of the imperial ideology. Koph does not take into account the mental and the cultural codes which make up a society. What he does is again the familiar theme within all the commentaries on the Asiatic Society. The commentaries fail to recognise the cultural and the mental colonization which is a result of imperialism. Koph’s statement that the Asiatic Society historicized the Indian past and stimulated consciousness of history in the Indian intellectual ; is itself a telling commentary on the process of colonization which Koph entirely misses. There is a erasure of the entire colonial process and it presents an utterly biased view of the activities of the Orientalists. Their work though could be described by hindsight as an exemplary work of research, does not preclude the basic charge of abetting the establishment of the British Government in India.

O.P. Kejariwal [58] in his work on the Asiatic Society traces the first fifty years of the society. He examines the work of all the orientalists like Sir William Jones, Colebrooke, James Princep and H.H.Wilson. In his preface he mentions how during the centenary celebrations of the Asiatic Society doubts were raised on the Orientalistic native of the society’s activities. Kejariwal refutes the suggestion, mentioning there was nothing orientalistic about it. Kejariwal’s work is an in-depth documentation of the historical endeavours of the society. No commentary on the society is as clear about the imperalistic process as Kejariwal’s text. It covers the complete process of colonization in terms of its intellectual output, but he fails to read into the historiography of what he has been writing.

On the whole there has been an amazing lack of will on the part of the commentators against taking severe strictures on the Asiatic Society in its early phase. All the commentaries comment on the beneficial efforts of the society in bringing about modernization within India. The idea of Orientalism defined by Said as a corporate body is carried forward by these Orientalists in the quest of their researches. There is an

implicit bond with the ideological moorings of these scholars, who as a result cannot examine imperialistic aims of the Asiatic Society as illustrated in the earlier section of this chapter.

III

A number of countries took part in the construction of Orientalism in India. Britain had been at the forefront of Orientalism since it developed as an imperial power after the Battle of Plassey in 1757 C.E. Among the earliest people to study Indian culture and manners was John Marshall who between 1668 C.E. and 1677 C.E. translated the *Serebaugabut Pooran.*[59] The next major figure who moved into Indian studies was

John Zephaniah Holwell (1711-1798). Holwell mentions in his *Religious Tenents of the Gentoos.*

> Having studiously perused all that has been written of the empire of Hindustan, both as to its ancient as well as more modern state; as also the various accounts transmitted to us, by authors in almost all ages... I venture to pronounce them all very defective; fallacious and unsatisfactory to an inquisitive searcher after truth; and only tending to convey a very imperfect and injurious resemblance of a people, who from the earliest times have been an ornament to the creation if so much can with propriety be said of any known people upon earth.[60]

Holwell points to the defective historiography of the age and studies that have been undertaken. The study of culture has been a imperfect one according to Holwell who further remarks:

> A mere description of exterior manners and religion of a people, will no more give us a true idea of them than a geographical description of a country can convey a just conception of their laws and government. The traveller must sink deeper in his researches.. .His telling us such and such a people, in the East or West Indies, worship this stock, or that stone, or monstrous idol; only serves to reduce in our esteem our fellow creatures to the most abject and despicable point of light. Whereas, was he skilled in the language of the people he describes, sufficiently to trace the etymology of their words and phrases, and capable of diving into the mysteries of their theology; he would probably be able to evince to us, that such seemingly preposterous worship, had most sublime rational source and foundation.[61]

Holwell belongs to the early group of British officials before the corporatization of the Indian culture which took place with the Asiatic Society of Bengal. British Orientalism needs to be examined with the interest in Indology and its information; in the actual process of the colonisation of India. The scholarship of Indologists cannot be denied. The problem gets actualised in the use of the information for the control of the colony. O.P. Kejariwal mentions in relation to the above observation. This is the perfect expression of the thinking among Englishmen in India in the latter half of the eighteenth century which led to the foundation of the Asiatic society.

Kejariwal continues his sympathetic reading of the Asiatic Society when he mentions Alexander Dow (1735-79). Dow who wrote the *History of Hindostan*[62] explains the problems associated with studies in India. He points like Holwell to the problems of language. He mentions:

> Excuses may be formed for our ignorance concerning the learning, religion and philosophy of the Brahmins. Literary inquiries are by no means a capital object to many of our adventurers in Asia. The few who have a turn for researches of that kind, are discouraged by the very great difficulty in acquiring that language, in which the learning of the Hindus is contained; or by that impenetrable veil of mystery with the Brahmins industrially cover their religions tenets and philosophy.[63]

The problem of language is interesting on account of the lexical and Sanskrit studies that began with Nathaniel Halhed and William Carey. Halhed composed *A Grammar of the Bengali Language* and *A Code of Gentoo Laws.* Francis Gladwin in 1775 C.E. composed an *English Persian Vocabulary* which was published in 1780C.E. Warren Hastings had given 'liberal assistance' to publish it at Malda.[64] Francis Gladwin after the

vocabulary translated the *Ayin Akbary* or *The Institutes of Emperor Akbar* in 1777 C.E. Gladwin mentions in his preface that he was attracted to it by:

> The high encomiums which are bestowed upon it by the learned Mr. Jones in his Persian Grammar.[65]

William Davy and Joseph White had published *The Civil and Military Institutes of Timour* (1780 C.E.).William Davy was Warren Hastings Persian secretary and Joseph White was the Laudian Professor of Arabic at the University of Oxford.[66]

The early readings in history also saw the growth of the publishing industry with Charles Wilkins who not only translated and published the *Bhagwat Gita* [67] but was also the printer of Halhed's *Grammar of the Bengali Language*. [68] Wilkins mentions in the preface to the Bhagwat Gita of Hastings encouragement of Indological studies by the company servants:

> ...to render themselves more capable of performing their duties...by the study of the languages, [with] the laws and customs of the native.[69]

The study of language is crucial for the governance of the land. The Battle of Plassey in 1757 C.E. cemented the British presence in Bengal. The Mysore Wars fought by Wellesley against Tipu Sultan further cemented it. In the space of five decades after 1757 C.E., the British turned into administrators of the conquered area. The studies mentioned above in the pre Asiatic Society days helped in gaining an understanding of the land and its culture; which was further established with the formation of the Asiatic Society of Bengal on 15th January, 1784.

Sir William Jones; the founder of the Asiatic Society is credited in initiating the field of Indology and Orientalistic studies. His first effort was presented to the society on 19 February, 1784. The subject of the discussion was '*A Dissertation on the Orthography of Asiatic words in Roman Letters*'.[70] The idea of transliteration was

important for the deciphering of Sanskrit and Pali. Jones had experienced a major problem without a uniform and a standardised form of transliteration. It led to major imperfections in translations. This early work is still in force in translation studies; with a few changes brought about a standard format within translation semantics and linguistic structures. He mentions in his orthography paper:

> The Ancient Greeks .... Who were too vain perhaps of their own language to learn any other, have... strangely disguised the proper appellations of countries, cities and rivers in Asia...[71]

William Jones in this paper brings out the foundation of comparative studies which fueled Orientalism. Majority of the readings in the *Asiatic Researches* are comparative in nature. The search for the common source of origins which dominated the 19th century is apparent in his famous discourse, *'On the gods of Greece, Italy and India'*, Jones mentions in this discourse on 24th March, 1785:

> When features of resemblance, too strong to have been accidental, are observable in different systems of polytheism, without fancy or prejudice to colour them and improve the likeness, we can scarce help in believing that some connection has immemorially subsisted between the several nations who have adopted them.[72]

Jones through all the discourses continues in the same vein, as he analyses the Indian discourse within the European world view. He mentions in his Tenth Anniversary discourse *'On Asiatick History, civil and Natural'*.

> We may properly begin with the civil history of the five Asiatick nations, which necessarily comprises their geography, or a description of the places where they have acted, and their Astronomy, which may enable us to fix with some accuracy the time of their actions; we shall

> thence be led to the history of such other animals, of such minerals, and of such vegetables as they may be supposed to have found in their several migrations and settlements.[73]

Jones through this exercise points to the multifaceted enquiry which fuels Orientalistic curiosity. The Gaze which creates this composes the cultural archetypes of a nation. The premise here is to grasp or to try and acquire a working knowledge of a country's past, present and the future. It also seeks to examine, peruse, critique and manage the information which is essentially a text. The colonised nation is transformed from a living experience to a series of textual codes which can be arranged or rearranged into permutations and combinations to suit the requirements of the intellectual enquiry. Jones confirmed the ' mosaic accounts of the primitive world', and mentions how 'Egyptians, Indians, Goths, Phoenicians, Celts, Greeks, Latinas, Chinese, Peruvians, Mexicans all sprung form the same immediate stem, appear to start nearly at one time, and occupy at length those countries, to which they have given or form which they have derived their names.[74]

There appears to be a problem with homogenization with the above discourse. A further problem arises when Jones comments on how:

> In twelve or thirteen hundred years more, the Greeks overrun the land of their forefathers, invade India, conquer Egypt, and aim at universal dominion.[75]

Jones in this passage points to the imperial conquest of nations by the west. He is pointing to the process of colonisation of cultures. The point to be noted is the language of conquest. Jones mentions history in terms of occupation, colonisation and the documentation of nations. The language of conquest is transferred and transformed to the level of a text. The textual analysis enables the coloniser to reduce

the living experience to a series of monographs, histories, surveys, tabulations and gazetted information. Jones further notes:

> In these Indian territories which providence has thrown into the arms of Britain for their protection and welfare, the religion, the manners, and laws of natives preclude even the idea of political freedom; but their histories may possibly suggest hints for their prosperity, while our country derives essential benefit from the diligence of a placid and submissive people.[76]

British colonial historiography interpreted Indian history from Puranic myths initially and from a comparative mode ultimately moved to the areas of geological, linguistic, ethnological and archaeological surveys to bring about a history which was textual and reliable with primary physical sources. Civil history was managed by translations which contributed to the analysis of the people's experience. The interpretation of law for example was an important method of textualising people and their experience. The Home department in a public consultation dated 22nd August, 1788 proclaimed the Governor Generals instructions to the board on the subject of the translation of the law. The text mentions:

> The Governor General informs the Board that he has lately conversed with Sir William Jones upon the subject of the work which he has undertaken of superintending the compilation of the Digest of Hindu and Mohammedan Law, in the course of which Sir William Jones recommended to him in the strongest manner, the addition of a person named Jagganath Tarcapanchanam into those already employed. This man is much advanced in years; his opinions, learning and abilities are held in the highest veneration and respect by all ranks of people and the work will derive infinite credit and authority both for the annexation of his name as a

> compiler and from his assistance. The Governor General further informs the board that Sir William Jones recommended a salary of Rs. 300, p(er) month to be allowed to Jagannath Tarcarpanchaan and 100 to his assistants. Agreed to and ordered accordingly.[77]

It is apparent from the document cited that there was an institutionalised enquiry into the codes of India which constitute historical and cultural experience. The institutionalised and a corporatised Orientalism practiced by the East India Company then; leads to the question of modes of imperial control. Sir William Jones was unable to complete the Digest of Hindu laws and H.T. Colebrooke who succeeded William Jones as the leading Sanskritist of the time completed the digest. It was an important tool in the entire British imperialistic exercise.

Sir William Jones, H.T. Colebrook, H.H. Wilson and James Princep bring out the early nature of the Orientalistic enquiry. Colebrook who followed Jones institutionalised the study of Sanskrit at the Fort William College. H.T.Colebrooke at the first general meeting of the Royal Asiatic society of Great Britain and Ireland on the 15th March had given a discourse on the future direction and the aims of the Royal Asiatic Society. He mentions:

> Both within its territorial limits and without them, the public functionaries have occasion for acquiring varied information and correct knowledge of the people and the country. Political transactions, operations of war, relations of commerce, the pursuits of business, the enterprise of curiosity, the desire of scientific acquirements, carry British subjects to the most distant and the most secluded spots. Their duties, their professions, lead them abroad, and they avail themselves of opportunity, thus afforded, for acquisitions of accurate acquaintances with matters presented to their notice.[78]

On examination of the agenda of the passage one sees the nature of the British enquiry. The language of imperialism involves a degree of translation or interpretation. Imperialism is multifaceted and the enquiry extends into many domains like politics, business, commerce, curiosity of a scientific enquiry. Colebrooke attempted to set the agenda of the newly established Royal Asiatic Society He mentions:

> No country enjoys grater advantage than Great Britain for conducting inquiries respecting them. Possessing a great Asiatic empire, its influence extends far beyond its direct and local authority.[79]

This idea is further cemented when Colebrooke speaks about Australia [80] and how the knowledge gained from administering India would help and augment the imperial control in Australia. He mentions:

> Modern enterprise has added to the known world a second Asiatic continent which British colonies have annexed to the British domain. The situation of Australasia connect it with the Indian Archipelago its occupation by English colonies brings it in relation with British India. Of that new country, where everything is strange, much is yet to be learnt. Its singular physical geography, its peculiar productions, the phemenomena of its climate, present numerous subjects of inquiry; and various difficulties are to be overcome, in the solution of the problem of adapting the arts of Europe to the novel situation of that distant territory.[81]

H.T. Colebrooke comments on the homogenising nature of Orientalism and the hegemony of modernism which can disregard the entire native modes of production of a nation. The nature of Orientalism is an act of construction by the colonising state

which attempts to code and decode the colonised states within its own knowledge via power paradigms. There is a note of curiosity and an act of discovery of codes, objects, moments, customs and people who are already in themselves present as living experience. The presence is disregarded as a void by imperial historiography which legitimises the process of imperial discovery as Colebrooke further mentions:

> The Asiatic Society of-Great Britain will contribute its aid towards the accomplishment of these important objects.[82]

Colebrooke published a paper on the Indian classics and a paper on *'The religious ceremonies of the Hindus and of the Brahmins';* during his work on *The Digest of Hindu law*. The Digest was published in four folio volumes in 1798. Colebrooke had undertaken this work gratis. After the publication of this digest Colebrooke was appointed to the court of Appeal in 1801 and he became its president in 1805. At this time Colebrooke was also appointed as a Professor of Hindu law and Sanskrit at the College of Fort William.[83]

Sir William Jones had drawn the orientation of Europe towards Sanscrit as a discipline. H.T. Colebrooke by the translation of the Digest of Hindu Law and papers detailing the customs of the Brahmins and probably the most important work of all with his essays on the Vedas were known to the west. Sir William Jones and Charles Wilkins were aware of the existence of the Vedic texts.[84]

The publication of the essay opened out the final bastion of the Brahminical order and Max Muller's translation of the *Rig Veda* along with the Sayanas commentary opened the flood gates of the Indologie readings with the publication of Muller's edited *The Sacred Books of the East.* [85] Friedrich Rosen published the *Rig Veda* specimens by 1830 and H.H. Wilson published the first book of the *Rig Veda* in 1850.

Colebrooke had also written a paper on Sanskrit and Prakrit languages. This paper surveyed the Sanskrit grammar. The study of this grammar led to the publication of the *Grammar of the Sanskrit language* [86] in 1805. Colebrooke brought out only the first volume. Charles Wilkins had brought out the *Grammar of the Sanskrita language* [87] which was more accessible. Colebrooke's important contributions along with the ones stated above were the *Indian and the Arabic divisions of the zodiac* [88] read on Oct. 1806 and *Ancient monuments containing Sanskrit inscriptions* [89] read on the 7th January, 1807.A major preoccupation of British Orientalism in India was writing and the construction of Indian history. Colebrooke comments:

> .....But the state of manners, and the prevalence of particular doctrines, at different periods, may be deduced from a diligent perusal of the writing of the authors, whose age is ascertained; and the contrast of different results, for various and distinct periods, may furnish a distinct outline of the progress of opinions. A brief history of the nation itself, rather than of its government, will thus be sketched.[90]

Colebrooke was elected President of the Asiatic society on the 2nd April, 1806. A singular feature of this period is the growing nexus between the Serampore missionaries and the Asiatic society and the development of the College of Fort William.

The Serampore Missionaries operated from the Dutch colony of Serampore. The Primary missionaries were William Carey, Ward and Marshman. They brought about a series of translations of Indian religious texts for an explicit purpose of the dissemination of Christianity. The study of Indian culture and the religious texts was considered essential for this. They had approached the society in May 1805 for the

publication of Sanskrit texts. It led to the publication of translated short works in English and other languages. The publication was called *'Bibliotheca Asiatica'* by the Asiatic Society. The Serampore missionaries were supported in their project on the publication of the *Ramayana* by the society. The society had made a contribution of Rs. 150 for it. Along with the *Ramayana* William Carey suggested the translation and the financial support for short and small Sanskrit texts 'which treat of the principals of Hindu theology and philosophy.[91] Colebrooke supported this plan and a further one where Carey decided to translate and publish other texts like Vedanta and Hindu science. The Asiatic Society sanctioned a payment of Rs. 150 on the 7th October, 1807 for textbooks on the Samkhaya School of philosophy. [92] This synergy between the Serampore missionaries and the Asiatic society was also instrumental in the establishment of a college at Fort William in 1800, where Carey taught Sanskrit and Hindu law. This cultural project of indological translation becomes sinister in its imperialistic hues in the observations of Joshua Marshman who commented:

> It makes up smile...when we consider Satan will probably here be overshot in [by?] his bow. He certainly did not intend when he dictated those vile and destructive fables, that the publication of them to the enlightened world should supply a fund for circulating the oracles of truth.[93]

The reason and the idea for translation are extremely clear in its imperial motives. Though the texts were translated keeping the role of dissemination of Christianity in mind the works led to a fair understanding of the Indian mind and culture. By this it was possible to gauge the nature as a thinking subject within his culture and an appropriate strategy of colonial control could be designed by the colonial officials. H.H. Wilson who took over as the secretary of the Asiatic Society after the departure of H.T. Colebrooke undertook a voluminous task of compiling a Sanskrit and English dictionary. The importance of this dictionary lies in the fact that it

was the first publication of its kind within the languages of Europe. This was pointed out in the address to H.H. Wilson by the Asiatic Society on the eve of the departure to England by Edward Ryan the President of the society on 31st December, 1832.[94]

H.H. Wilson had also translated Kalidasa's *Meghdoota* in his compilation of the *Dramatic literature of the Hindus* .Wilson continues in the strain where Jones and Colebrooke left. We find a systematic look at language studies with the publication of the Sanskrit dictionary which had begun with the grammar studies by Charles Wilkins, Halhed and Colebrooke. Lexical studies help in acquiring language and by producing a lexicon one acquires an etymological history of the languages.

Within the proceedings of the Asiatic Society we have the Society President Edward Ryan's qualification of Wilson as a candidate for the Boden chair of Sanskrit. He mentions how after his return from Banaras he had directed a comprehensive view to the dramatic literature of the Hindus. He mentions entire translations of Sanskrit dramas with an introductory account of the Hindu dramatic system and an appendix giving descriptions of twenty three other dramatic compositions.[95]

The Serampore Missionaries worked with a close proximity to the Asiatic Society. The missionaries along with the Society edited, printed and disseminated seminal Indological texts.William Carey, William Ward and Joshua Marshman were famous as the Serampore 'trio' who conducted the affairs of the Baptist Missionary Society. The Serampore missionaries are important for their Oriental contributions; due to their proximity with the Wellesley administration, the College of Fort William and the Asiatic Society. The aim of the Serampore mission was to promote Christianity among the Indian native population. Their manner of going about the whole process of disseminating Christianity was unique in its nature. The Serampore

missionaries were initially not in favour of the British administration, due to the role of the Mission at the Vellore mutiny. In 1806 the Indian Garrison at Vellore rose up against its officers resulting in a massacre. The company had blamed the affairs of the Serampore Mission and its prosethesing activities. The Serampore mission was banned from the British territories and had established its base at Serampore which was governed by the Dutch. The Baptist Missionary Society was responsible for the establishment of the Serampore Press which published path breaking books, translations and tracts on the Hindu religion and Hindu religious texts.

William Carey is the most famous of the Serampore missionaries. Carey is noted for his extensive translations and compilations of dictionaries of Indian languages. The Serampore Press published texts with an explicit aim of understanding the Indian mind through the Indian religious texts. Carey, Ward and Marshman supervised the printing of the texts. Some of the texts included the following.

(1) Dialogues by William Carey, 1801.

(2) A Grammar of the Bengalee Language by William Carey, 1801.

(3) Raja Pratapaditya by Ramram Basu, 1801.

(4) British Srihasam by Mrityunjay Vidyalamkar, 1802.

(5) Hitopadesha by Goloknath Basu, 1802.

(6) Lipimala by Ramram Basu, 1802.

(7) Ramayana in Bengali in 1802.

(8) A Grammar of the Marhatta Languages by William Carey.

(9) Sinhasana Battisi in Marathi by Vidyanath Sharma in 1812.

(10) A Grammar of the Sanskrit Language by William Carey.

(11) Amarakosha, ed. by H.T. Colebrooke, 1807.

(12) A Grammar of the Telinga Language by William Carey, 1812.

Carey's translation of the *Ramayana* is crucial in its selection. Carey had decided to translate the Ramayana as it was more exotic than the Vedas. Carey mentions:

> A clear idea of the religion and literature, the manners and the customs of the Hindus, can be obtained only from a connected perusal of their writings.[96]

Carey makes *Ramayana* a choice for the translation by examining the folk popularity of the Indian classic. The *Ramayana* is a story that is entrenched into the folk consciousness of the people. The Vedas were restricted to the Brahmins with their knowledge of Sanskrit. Moreover Raja Ram Mohan Roy, H.T. Colebrooke and H.H. Wilson were translating the Vedas and the Upanishads. Carey's *Ramayana* marked an understanding of the Hindu mind and beliefs. Carey is also noted for the large number of dictionaries that he edited. Dictionaries and their reusage were important for the comprehension of the usages of languages and it also gave the missionaries access into the texts that had not been translated. The texts could be understood and deciphered by the Dictionaries. The Dictionaries had a motive behind their compilations. Carey mentions in his preface to the Mahratta dictionary.

> To those Europeans who reside in India, the study of its different languages is confessedly of great importance, as tending to facilitate the interests of commerce, and to promote that free intercourse so necessary to the existence of mutual confidence between themselves and the natives. It is also highly important as a medium through which alone Europeans can become acquainted between themselves and the natives. it is also highly important as a medium through which alone Europeans can become acquainted with the manners and customs of the different

> Indian nations and with a variety of circumstances known to the great body of the people, and in which they are immediately interested.[97]

The dictionaries not only helped in the translation of the New Testament into Indian languages but also gave administrators an access to the languages, in the framing of the documents, language training and administration. William Carey was appointed as a professor of Bengali and Sanskrit at the Fort William College. He along with H. T. Colebrooke of the Asiatic Society had collaborated in the translation of select Indological texts. They trained and taught young writers who had come to India. The writers were taught the local languages, law and the local Hindu and Islamic religious and social texts. Carey and the Serampore missionaries fully cooperated with the British administration in Calcutta for the translation projects. On one hand it was a pragmatic decision when the ban on preaching is noted by the British authorities and on the other hand their involvement with the imperial process is extremely clear.

Carey mentions in his preface to the Maratha dictionary the need to study languages. The free intercourse was mediated through language. Languages assumed a centrality in the later half of the eighteenth century. The importance of the role of languages can be noted in Warren Hastings active propagation for them. William Jones pioneered Sanskrit studies among the Britishers with his stay at Nadia. H.T. Colebrooke and H.H. Wilson also pioneered the readings from literature to philosophy. Carey points to the confusion of handling and learning Indian languages. He mentions in the preface to the Maratha dictionary:

> It must be confessed that the number of languages spoken in India (almost every one of which is written in a different character) is a circumstance which defers the

> greater number of Europeans from the study of Indian literature. Thos therefore who think it absolutely necessary to acquire one of them, usually choose the Hindosthanee, and, with the assistance of a native servant who understands the languages.[98]

The primary reason for learning languages was to acquire the facilities to rule. A greater fear than this was the basic mistrust of the native population. This fear had led to Halhed and William Jones with their translations. Carey mentions the need to read a number of languages.

> Every person therefore, acquainted with Hindoosthanee alone must commit himself wholly to a native servant, and will in all probability be often misrepresented and often deceived.[99]

Carey like William Jones recognised the importance of Sanskrit as the root language of all the modern Indian languages. Carey being a missionary recognised the importance of the study of Sanskrit. The key philosophical texts in Hinduism being in Sanskrit, the study of the language was important to frame an adequate christianised response. Carey remarks:

> If any language could be adopted as the universal medium of communication with all the different Indian nations, it would be Sanskrita, which is indeed not only the key to all Indian literature, but also the parent of every language spoken throughout India, in most of which three fourths of the words are either pure Sanskrita, or so obviously derived from it as to be instantly recognised by one who has studied the language. No language therefore can be so useful to an Oriental student as Sanskrita.[100]

Carey in the introduction to the study of languages points to the need for having grammars and dictionaries. Carey mentions:

> But were the study of the Sanskrita for more general, Grammars and Dictionaries of the popular languages would still be necessary. An acquaintance with Latin would undoubtedly assist the Philologist in acquiring the Italian, the Spanish and some others of the modern languages of Europe, it is evident, however, that a Latin Grammar and Dictionary could not supply the place of elementary works in either of these languages.[101]

Carey brings out a strategy of bringing out the essence of the native culture and then subverting it. This was a strategy by which most of the Imperial Orientalists operated. The New Testament translations by Carey into Indian languages can be acceptable as a part of missionary evangelical activity. The importance of Carey's position is his awareness of the importance of bringing out key texts of Hinduism and the dictionaries and grammars which would help in the dissemination of Christianity. These Grammars and dictionaries were key texts that helped further imperial exercises.

An Enquiry into the obligations of Christians to use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens is an interesting tract written by Carey. It was written in the year 1792 C.E. before he came to India. Here he gives the methodology of the process for the dissemination of the gospel. He begins by giving a survey of the populations of Asia, Europe, Africa and America. Carey's exposure to scientific methods is evident here as he presents his data in a tabular formation. He notes:

> In this section I shall consider the world as divided according to its usual divisions into four parts Europe, Asia, Africa, America and take notice of the extent of the several countries, their population, civilization and religion. The article of religion I shall divide into Christian, Jewish, Mahometan and Pagan.[102]

Carey's exposure to the latest scientific procedures and travels are visible in his writings. He had ardently followed Captain Cook's data from his voyages. Through this Carey brings out a scientific trait into his observations. Being a product of the Enlightenment one notices a mathematical tendency of collecting data and arranging them in logical sequences. This facility helped Carey in formulating his dictionaries. In the *Enquiry* Carey presents his data on Asia. The data here is restricted to India, Tibet and Celon.[103]

Countries	Extent		Number of Inhabitants	Religion
	Length Miles	Breadth Miles		
India beyond the Ganges	2000	1000	50000000	Mahometans and Pagans
Hindustan	2000	1500	110000000	Ditto
Tibet	1200	480	10000000	Pagans
Isle of Celon	250	200	2000000	Pagans except Dutch Christians

There is also a definition of India into Hindustan and the territory below the Ganges basin. Hindustan was defined as the Mughal area excluding the Deccan. This is how Ferishta in his history had catalogued territory. This history had been translated by Alexander Dow as the *History of Hindostan.* The Deccan came into Mughal control during the region of Aurangzeb following immense resistance by Shivaji.

Carey also furnishes a need for conversion and the dissemination of the gospel. He mentions:

> After all, the uncivilized state of the heathen, instead of affording an objection against preaching the gospel to them, ought to furnish an argument for it. Can, we as men, or as Christians hear that a great part of our fellow creatures, whose souls are as immortal as ours, and who are as capable as ourselves of adoring the gospel and

> contributing by their preaching's writings, or practices to the glory of our Redeemer's name, and the good of the Church are enveloped in ignorance and barbarism. Can we hear that they are without the gospel, without government, without laws, and without arts, and sciences; and not exert ourselves to introduce amongst them the sentiments of men and of Christians? Would not the spread of the gospel be the most effectual means of their civilization? Would not that make them useful members of society? [104]

Carey brings out the 'Non Christian' as the dark 'Other'. This 'Other' is a not a reactionary other. It does not speak or respond. Carey has not reference to the local cultural climate. The non-Christian world has no governments, laws, arts and sciences of its own. Without the gospel this 'dark other' is uncivilized and hence not useful. This kind of a reference is arbitrary and it completely negates the cultural past and the heritage of the people. The *Enquiry* was written before he reached India. He had an access to an immense amount of information on India. Still the *Enquiry* did not display the immense pluralities in terms of cultures and languages which Carey acknowledged later through the translations in Indian languages and dictionaries. He was in favour of forming a body for the dissemination of the gospel. He mentions:

> From such a society a committee might be appointed whose business it should be to procure all the information they could upon the subject.[105]

This led to the formation of the Baptist Missionary Society which undertook the immense Oriental researches with Philological and Orientalistic translations with the establishment of the Mission Press at Serampore.

William Ward worked along with Carey and unlike Carey did not indulge into many translations of Indian texts. His contribution to the growth of Indology was the supervision of the printing at the Serampore Mission Press. He brought out for the

first time the view of the Hindu religion as a system and was the first Indologist to name it as Hinduism instead of Paganism or Heathesm.[106] Ward saw the Indian religion as a system. He remarks:

> ..... a rapid view of the Hindoo sacred code, as a grand system, regular in all its parts, and proposing a defined and magnificent object, nothing less than the yogic absorption into the divine nature, and, to the common people, a gradual advance towards the same State.[107]

This was a very different view from the normal missionary 'views'. Most missionary accounts examine events piecemeal and react to it. There would be select observations on the Jagganath Yatra, Kali, Sati and Hook Swinging. Ward appeared to examine the entire issue as a complete system of religion with a philosophical and devotional structure to it. Ward wrote a number of treatises on Hinduism; chief amongst which was his *A view of the History, Literature and Religion of the Hindoos: Including a minute description of their manners and customs, and translations from their principal works.* It was published at the Serampore Mission Press in 1815.

Ward in his history examined the Vedanta Shastra and the various forms of dualistic versus the non-dualistic debates.[108] He also gave a detailed genealogical sketch of the Hindu Gods and the practices that devotional practices engendered. The core areas of his discussion on Hinduism are the brashminical practices. He along with the other Baptist missionaries held the caste structure and the role of the Brahmins in close view. Apart from examining the Gods, Ward examined totemistic symbols of worship like beasts, birds, trees and objects of Worship.[109] He looked into temples, the ceremonies, endowment of the temples, types of temples, images and their varieties. He also distinguished between Shaivite and Vishnavite temples.[110]

Ward in his study also examined cosmology and the times and periods for proper worship.[111] Sacrifices, vows, austerities, hospitality, the role of sanskirtans and the lighting of the lamps were examined as practices. The Serampore missionaries extensively commented on Kali and her attributes and in a comparative format examined Buddhism as a clash between Buddhism and Hinduism. Ward examined the Shastras and doctrines of the Buddhist sect and the texts of ritualistic tantra.[112] The studies in Kali and tantra would ultimately help in the suppression of thuggi by Colonel Sleeman.[113]

Wards next focus in his work was to examine the Shastras and the doctrines of the Jains.[114] He also examined the Sikh religion, its history and the role of Guru Nanak as an interesting contrast to Hinduism. It also led to the translation of the *Adi Granth.*[115]

The role of the Serampore missionaries marked an important point within Orientalistic scholarship. The Asiatic Society brought out the 'literary' aspects of India by its readings into the classical literature of India. The Serampore missionaries worked on the practical aspects of the languages of India and the translations of the Indian religious texts. They brought and made accessible the religious texts of India and examined the country in a psycho religious angle. The Serampore Asiatic Society nexus was rich in its depth and penetration of the literary, religious and the cultural aspects of India and this paved the way for the later phases in imperial policies.

The imperial policies constantly evolved. The policies of imperialistic control constantly changed and evolved. The Sanskritist norms of the early orientalists in understanding India was superimposed with a 'civilising mission' in the case of Thomas Babinton Maculay, Charles Grant and James Mill. The roles played by Charles Grant, Mill and Maculay need to be examined within the problematic

paradigms of improvement and the 'civilising cause'. They were responsible for the anglicization of education and a fall out in the importance in oriental studies. This period saw the Anglisict's and the Orientalist's controversy. The Charter Act of 1813 provided a sum of one lakh rupees for the revival of literature and an introduction in 'useful sciences' to the people of India. The controversy involved two groups of administrators, scholars and missionaries who had individual ideas of translating India. The Orientalists included people like Warren Hastings, William Jones, H.H. Wilson, H.T. Colebrooke, James Princep and others who had examined India through the Indian languages, literature, philosophy and archaeology. The Anglicist's like Charles Grant, James Mill and T.B. Macaulay belong to the new group of company officials who were not in favour of spending company finances on the propagation of Indian vernacular literature and knowledge systems. The role of Indian reform was a contentious issue. Reform had to percolate to the native population for a variety of reasons. The first reason was the role of administration and the judiciary. The second was the problems of revenue and the land settlement. The third was this high problem of education. The British not only had the problem of an uneducated native population in the modernistic sense but also a vast number of Eurasians of a mixed European and Indian parentage from an earlier era. There was this constant fear of this group and the new writers getting corrupted by the Indian customs and manners. Then the bigger problems were tackling the problems of the native religion and the dissemination of Christianity. The fifth problem was 'ordering difference' within the two races and the fear of merging with the native population in terms of sympathizes and marriages with Indian women that had been a norm in the eighteenth century and the early decades of the nineteenth century. These problems could not be addressed without changing the governing principles of administration and education. The idea was as Macaulay had proposed of changing and nurturing a new generation which

would be, 'Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect'. The problems could only be addressed by language and education through English literature.

James Mills *The History of British India* [116] was extremely successful in changing attitudes and at the same time it institutionalised a mode of viewing India. There are problems with the view proposed by Mill. Mill like Max Muller had never visited India. He had no knowledge of the country, its literature and customs on a personal basis. He only had an elementary acquaintance of the languages of the East. He mentions:

> This writer, it will be said, has never been in India, and, if he has any, has a very slight, and elementary acquaintance, with any of the languages of the East.[117]

Further Mill justifies his stand in the construction of the history of India by basing himself on the archive of previously recorded knowledge and observations in India. The oriental archive in the west was enough to justify India in all its aspects. The growth of the archive was an enlightenment trait which based its views on recorded empirical evidence. This gets further problematic when a historian like Mill functioned on stereotyped views on India. He mentions:

> In the first place it appeared to me, that a sufficient stock of information was now collected in the languages of Europe, to enable the inquirer to ascertain every important point, in the history of India. If I was right in that opinion, it is evident that a residence in India, or a knowledge of the languages of India, was, to express myself moderately, not indispensable. In the next place, I observed that no exceptions were taken to a president of the board of control, or to a governor general, the men entrusted with all

> the powers of the government in India, because that had never been in India, and knew none of its languages. Again I certainly knew, that some of the most successful attempts in History had been made, without ocular knowledge of the country, or acquaintance with its language.[118]

The archival historian has his objectives of history which are rooted in cultural factual documents. The 19th century archival historians like James Mil based their readings on unfactual literature in Europe. This powerful historiography demolished the cultural history and the contributions of Indian history. This view was opposed to by the Orientalists. H.H. Wilson edited James Mills *The history of British India* edition. He had refuted in the form of footnotes a number of allegations by Mill. This edition represented a countering of the ideology which sought to demolish everything that had been achieved by the Asiatic Society and other Orientalistic bodies in terms of reclaiming Indian history and her literature. The edition of Mill's history which was edited by H.H. Wilson represents the curious and a bitter intersection of the ideological battle between the Orientalists and the Anglicists. Charles Grant along with T.B. Macaulay was a part of the Anglicists Group who campaigned for a change in focus on Orientalistic studies. Macaulay based his minute on the future of English studies as a mode for the betterment of the native population of India. Charles Grant also supported the role of English as a language for 'civilising' the native population though his focus was more on the dissemination of Christianity and Christian morals in India. Charles Grant wrote his *'Observations on the state of society among the Asiatic subjects of Great Britain particularly with respect to morals and on the means of improving it'* in the year 1792. It was printed on the 15th June, 1813 by an order passed by the House of Commons.[119] Charles Grant addressed the tract to the Court of Directors of the East India Company. He mentions is the opening letter:

> I have now the honour to submit to your consideration a tract which bears upon a subject passed by repeated proposals on your attention, namely, the communication of Christianity to the natives of our possessions in the East.[120]

Grant proceeds by stating the problems that are apparent in the Indian subjects. Grant proposes remedying the 'disorders' that are present in them which afford no scope for the 'improvement' in them. He notes:

> Supposing it is in our power to convince them of the criminality of the annual sacrifice of so many human victims on the funeral pile, of the profession of robbery; comprehending murder; of the indulgence of one class of people in the whole catalogue of flagitious crimes, without any adequate punishment; of the forfeiture of the lives of others, according to their institutes, for the merest trifles; of the arbitrary imposition of bothersome rites, devoid of all morals worth; of the pursuit of revenge, by offering to vindictive deities of the establishment of lying, false evidence, gaming, and the other immoralities by law; of the pardon of capital offences for money; of trying to purchase the exploitation of willful and habitual iniquity, by ceremonial observances; and of the worship of stocks, stones, impure and malevolent deities; no man living surely, would affirm that we ought, that we are at liberty, to withhold from them this conviction.[121]

Grant's observation mirrors a 'criminal' India which is despotic and steeped in superstition. The two basic structures that are visible comprise crime and heathen habits. The criminal notions which are mirrored justified the courts of law which were instituted to preserve it. Grant interestingly endorses the criminal nature of India but he proposes the role of Christianity as medium of civilising the criminal nature of India. Grant has no intentions of dismantling the caste structure [122] and he does not

authorise the use of force in the demolition of temples and idols. He feels it would harden the stand of the people against the action. [123] Ignorance was the standard trope maintained by the British when it came to describing its Indian subjects. The need for the civilizational touch was necessary for the introduction of western reason. Grant mentions:

> The true cure of darkness is the introduction of light. The Hindooes err, because they are ignorant, and then errors have never fairly been laid before them. The communication of our light and knowledge to them, would prove the best remedy for their disorders...[124]

Grants proposal is to use language for the best methods of civilising the native population. He states:

> There are two ways of making the communication the one is, by the medium of the languages of those countries; the other is, by the medium of our own. In general, when foreign teachers have proposed to instruct the inhabitants of any country, they have used the vernacular tongue of that people, for a natural and necessary reason, that they could not hope to make any other means of communication intelligible to them. This is not our case in respect of our Eastern dependencies. There are our own, we have possessed them long, many Englishmen reside among the natives, our language is not unknown there, and it is practicable to diffuse it more widely. [125]

Grant proposed the dissemination of English as a mode of instruction. The gradual introduction of English according to Grant would civilize and bring out the best qualities and features of the ruling race. The language would take the natives out of the old world and bring them into a world of 'new ideas'. Grant mentions:

> We proceed then to observe, that it is perfectly in the power of this country, by degrees, to impart to the Hindoos our language; afterwards through that medium, to make them acquainted with our own easy literary compositions, upon a variety of subjects; and, let not the idea hastily excite division, progressively with the simple elements of our art, our philosophy and religion. These acquisitions would silently undermine, and at length subvert, the fabric of error; and all the objectives that may apprehended against such a charge, are, it is confidently believed, capable of a solid answer.[126]

Grant bases the idea of language on the role of the Muslim conquest. They had brought in Persian which was the language of intellectual discourse in India. It was also an administrative tongue. This according to Grant helped the Muslim powers to maintain superiority and to arrange revenue.

Grant maintains that if the British had introduced English like the Mughals then the affairs of the empire would have been much better and the early excesses of the empire regarding revenue could have been avoided. The move would have aided in the easy deployment of revenue collection modes and grievances could have been 'represented, redressed or prevented.Grant proposed the setting up of educational institutions all over the country for this purpose. He remarks:

> It would be extremely easy for government to establish, at a moderate expense, in various parts of the provinces, places of gratuitous instruction in reading and writing English. Multitudes, especially the young, would flock to them; and the easy books used in teaching, might at the same time convey obvious truths on different subjects.[127]

Grant mentions that the use of the free education would diffuse downwards to the next generation to create a full body of English educated natives who would be bound by

the common idea of progress. [128] Grants imperial aims further extend the usuage of the language to courts, judicial proceedings and the revenue departments.[129]

The principal aim of 'civilizing' the natives never seems out of focus for Grant. The role of the English language is crucial to his discussion in the turnaround that occurred from Orientalism to Anglicism. Grant notes:

> The art of printing would enable us to disseminate our writings in a way the Persians never could have done, through their compositions had been as numerous as ours. Hence the Hindoos would see the great use we make of reason on all subjects, and in all affairs, they also would learn to reason, they would become acquainted with the history of their own species, the past and the present state of the world; their affections would gradually become interested by various engaging works, composed to recommend virtue; and to deter from vice; the general mass of their opinions would be rectified; and above all; they would use a better system of principals and morals. New views of duty as rational creatures would open among them; and that mental bondage in which they have long been holden would gradually dissolve.[130]

Grant further mentions that the English language would also help in the introduction of the Christian religion and Christian morals. He mentions that the most important communication which the Hindoos could receive would be the knowledge of the Christian religion. This would help the natives to understand the nature of the scriptures which would help them in the understanding the nature of the one god. This would help civilize the native. Grant mentions:

> Wherever this knowledge should be received, idolatry, will all the rabble of its impure deities, its monsters of words and stone, its false principals and corrupt principals, its

> delusive hopes and vain fears, its ridiculous ceremonies and degrading superstitions, its lying legends and fraudulent impositions, would fall.[131]

Grants view of the dissemination of Christian morals is far removed from the Semaphore missionaries. Carey, Ward and Marshmann had approached the problems of Christian dissemination via translations of Indian religious texts and the compilation of dictionaries and the translations of the bible in various Indian languages. This brought them into closer contact with the Indian culture and texts. Grant on the other hand does not hold translations in very high regard. He did not believe in an assimilist approach where aspects of Indian culture were recognised. The Serampore trio were a part of the Orientalist group while Grant belonged to the Anglicist group. There was a wide worldview in both these groups in determining the future of India and her people. The Anglicists maintained a very arbitrary view towards Indian in terms of its history, culture and religion. The efforts of the anglacists like Grant and Mill saw its culmination with the attitudes and crucial decisions taken by the British Government. The actions that followed brought about far reaching changes in policy. Thomas Babinton Macaulay in his 1835 minute on Education brought about a huge change in British Policy.

Macaulay in a letter to Lord William Bentick issued his Minute on Education on 2nd February 1835.[132] Maculay had reacted to the Charter Act of 1813, where it was proposed that a sum would be set apart for the promotion of literature. The Charter Act mentions:

> A sum is set apart for the revival and promotion of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories.[133]

Macaulay, kept to the notion of ’difference’ that had been articulated by James Mill and Grant. There was an absolute sense of an intellectual difference in his construction of the natives of India. He states:

> It is argued or rather taken for granted, that by literature the parliament can have month only Arabic and Sanskrit Literature; that they never would have given the honourable appellation of ‘a learned native’ to a native who was familiar with the poetry of Milton, the metaphysic of Loche, and the Physics of Newton; but that they menth to designate by that name only such persons as might have studied in the sacred books of the hindues all the uses of Cusa-grass and all the mysteries of absorption into the diety.[134]

Maculay alleged the misunderstanding of the Charter Act of 1813. The clause also included the phrase ‘for the introduction and promotion of knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of all British territories’. The utilitarian aspect of British attitudes examined the entire issue within the terms of ultimate usefulness. It was a waste according to Maculay to utalise Government funds on a subject which was dead and a thing of the past. He mentions in the Minute:

> But to talk of a government pledging itself to teach certain languages and through those languages certain sciences may become useless, seems to me quite unmeaning. There is not a single word in any public instrument from which it can be inferred that the Indian Government ever intended to give any pledge on this subject, or ever considered the destination of these funds as unalterably fixed.[135]

Moreover Macaulay keeping the utilitarian idea of education in mind; which would ‘civilize’ the natives as Grant put it; proceeds in the Minute to denigrate Sanskrit and Arabic literature. He remarks:

> All parties seem to be agreed on one point, that the dialects commonly spoken among the natives of this part of India contain neither literary nor scientific information, and are moreover so poor and rude that, until they are enriched from some other quarter, it will not be easy to translate any valuable work into them.[136]

The idea appeared to be with the reform in education. Macaulay's problem appears to be with the idea of modernization in the British territories and at the same time he felt that bringing in a common language would help to modernize it. He mentions:

> What shall that language be? One-half of the committee maintain that it should be English. The other half strongly recommend the Arabic and Sanskrit. The whole question seems to me to be which language is the best worth knowing? [137]

The relative comparative mode by Macaulay proceeds; as he constantly emphasizes the difference and distinctions between languages English education assumes primary on account of the demand for it in the British territories. English was a new language of commerce and it had become the language to improve one's standing in society. Macaulay notes:

> I have no knowledge of either Sanskrit or Arabic. But I have done what I could to form a correct estimate of their value. I have read translations of the most celebrated Arabic and Sanskrit works. I have conversed, both here and at home, with men distinguished by their proficiency in the eastern tongues. I am quite ready to take the oriental learning at the valuation of the Orientalists themselves. I have never found among them who could deny that a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia. The intrinsic superiority of the Western Literature is indeed fully

> admitted by those members of the committee who support the Oriental plan of education.[138]

The problematic vision of Macaulay lies in the denunciation of both Sanskrit and Arabic texts; without knowing the language or having read the original texts. He based his observations on translations and interactions with orientalists whom he does not name in the minute.

Macaulay points to the colonizing presence throughout the empire. He points to the clash of knowledge systems and the problems of integrating with the colonized nations in the empire. He mentions:

> In India, English is the language spoken by the ruling class. It is spoken by the higher class of natives at the seats of government. It is likely to become the language of commerce throughout the seas of the east. It is the language of two great European communities which are rising, the one in the south of Africa, the other in Australia, communities which are every year becoming more important and more closely connected without Indian empire. Whether we look at the intrinsic value of our literature, or at the particular situation of this country, we shall be the strongest reason to think that, of all foreign tongues, the English tongue is that which would be most useful to our native subjects.[139]

Macaulay also points to the administrative problem of subsidization students who studied Arabic and Sanskrit were paid a sum of Rs.500 a month. He bases this observation on petitions from students of Sanskrit. The students of the Sanskrit College had petitioned about the utility of their courses. The students remark:

> The indifference with which we are generally looked upon by our countrymen leaves no hope of encouragement and assistance from them, and neither can much support be

> expected from other quarters since Law cannot be of much use to private individuals, unless supported by the Government.[140]

The students had petitioned the Government for help. They concluded:

> .....after having passed almost the whole of our youth in study at a place so liberally supported by Government, we nevertheless are condemned under our present condition to continue unseen and unknown, which can hardly be the wish of our own patrons.[141]

The 19th Century saw English as a mode of material progress. The knowledge of the language helped for a material integration into the Empire. William Bentick had been instructed to economise in his administration and the only way he could do that was by appointing Indians in administrative posts on lower salaries.[142] English was brought in both for the integration of the empire and creating a body of subjects who would provide lesser opposition to British interests.

Macaulay also points to the wasteful expenditure incurred by the publication of Oriental volumes and researches. Speaking about the one lakh rupees reserved for the printing of the Arabic and Sanskrit volumes Macaulay mentions:

> We are withholding from them the learning which is palatable to them. We are forcing on them the mock learning which is, which they nauseate. This is proved by the fact that we are forced to pay our Arabic and Sanskrit students while those who learn English are willing to pay us.[143]

Macaulay proposed the scrapping of Arabic and Sanskrit publications. He also proposed the closure of all Arabic and Sanskrit institutions except the Sanskrit College at Banaras and the Mohammedan College at Delhi. The funds that were saved by this would help in the establishment of English language schools all over the Fort

William Presidency and Agra. It would also help in the development of the Hindu College.[144]

Macaulay's vision was utilitarian at the extreme. His association with Grant and Trevelyan must also be noted. Grant was a noted evangelist and Trevelyan had instituted a system of competitive examinations for government positions. Macaulay succeeded in his aim of the integration of the empire. English became the Lingua Franca of the British Empire then. He also succeeded in the creation of a body of people who had absorbed English. The same language was also utilized in articulating their resistance.

This period also saw a continuation of the translation projects in England and the oriental centres in Europe. This was the period when oriental work was done and encouraged in the academies of Europe while it was discouraged in India. Orientalism was getting stronger in Europe, while an administrative anxiety brought in anglisization in India. This is reflected in the works of Max Muller.

Max Muller (1823-1900) has been widely regarded as one of the major Orientalists. He is known chiefly for his translation of the *Rig Veda* (1849-73) and forty three volumes of the *Sacred Books of the East.*

Max Muller in his work *India what can it teach us?* [145] combines a series of lectures, which he delivered on an invitation from the Board of Historical studies at Cambridge University. This invitation was given by the Professor of Sanskrit E.B.Cowell. The lectures were to orient the candidates of the Indian Civil Service Muller in a series of lectures talks about the role of India, Sanskrit language, Vedas and the Vedic religion. His primary interest was on the character of India, its culture and the manner by which the culture could reform Britain and its imperialistic attitudes.

Max Muller has been extremely well received in India and his commentaries have acquired a cult status. Swami Vivekananda commented:

> What an extraordinary man is Prof. Max Mueller! I paid a visit to him a few days ago.... long and archous task of exciting interest, overriding opposition and contempt, and at last creating a respect for the thoughts of the sages of ancient India... And what love he bears towards India, I wish I had a hundredth part of the love for my own motherland.[146]

Echoing Vivekananda; Mahatma Gandhi in the *Hind Swaraj*[147] points to the famous passage by Muller where, he talks about 'pointing to India'. Johannes H. Voigt in his introduction to the volume *India what can it teach us?* situates Muller within the Orientalist and the Anglacists controversy. He mentions:

> Max Muller entreated his young listeners to travel to India with an open mind, to allow themselves to be enriched by their experience.[148]

Max Muller contrary to the popular opinion is firmly entrenched within the Orientalistic Imperial historiography. He remarks in the passage.

> If I were to look over the whole world to find out the country most richly endowed with all the wealth, power and beauty that nature can bestow in some parts a very paradise on earth – I should point to India. If I were asked under what sky the human mind has most fully developed some of its choicest gifts, has most deeply pondered on the greatest problems of life, and has found solutions of some of them which well deserve the attention even of those who have studied Plato and Kant – I should point to India. And if I were to ask myself from what literature we, here in Europe, we who have been murtured about exclusively on the thoughts of Greeks and Romans, and of one Semitic

> race, the Jewish, may draw that corrective which is most wanted in order to make our inner life more perfect, more comprehensive, more universal, in fact more truly human, a life, not for this life only, but a transifigured and eternal life – again I should point to India.[149]

This passage which has been much eulogized exotifies India. Muller as mentioned in the preceding pages constructs India as a source of all essences. The essentialising tendency is one of the major aspects of Orientalism. Germany as discussed earlier looked upon India as a possible source of identity which was largely Germanic and Aryan. The idea of India here does not point to the reality of the colomalist enterprise. It examines India within essentialist terms. India turns into a learning ground which had been extended in methodology to construct the Imperial gazetteers series. Muller in his address points to the chief attractions; which would make the life of the candidates more meaningful. Muller mentions in the lecture:

> If you care for geology, there is work for you from the Himalaya to Celon.... If you are fond of Botany, there is flora rich enough for many hookers... If you are a zoologist, think of Heckel, who is just now rushing through Indian Forests and dredging in Indian seas....
>
> If you are interested in ethnology, why India is like a living ethnological museum.... If you are fond of archeology, if you have ever assisted at the opening of a barrow in England, and know the delight of finding a fibula, or a knife, or a flint in a heap of rubbish, read only. 'General Cunningham's Annual reports of the Archeological Survey of India... if you ever amused yourselves with the collecting coins why the soil of India terms with coins... The study of mythology has assumed an entirely new character, chiefly owing to the light that has been thrown on it by the Vedic mythology of India. But through the foundation of a true

> service of mythology has been laid, all that detail has still to be worked out, and could be worked out nowhere better than in India... Even the study of tables owes its new life to India, from where the various migrations of tables have been traced at various times and through various channels from East to West.....
>
> Many of you may have studied not only languages, but also the science of language and is there any country in which some of the most important problems of that science, say only the growth and decay of dialects, or the possible mixture of languages with regard not only to words, but to grammatical elements also, can be studied to greater advantage than among the Aryan, the Dravidian and the Munde inhabitants of India.....
>
> Again if you are a student of Inriprudence, there is a history of law to be explored in India, very different from what is known of history of law in Greece in Rome, and in Germany, yet both by its contracts and by its similarities full of suggestions to the student of comparative Ivrisprudence.[150]

Muller throughout the initial introduction points to the possible 'constructs' of India. The interesting element of this discourse is the range of its inquiry. Muller further notes :

> You will find yourselves everywhere in India between an immense past and an immense future, with opportunities such as the old world could but seldom, if ever, offer you. Take any of the burning questions of the day – popular education, higher education, parliamentary representation, codification of laws, finance, emigration, poor law, and whether you have anything to observe and to learn, India will supply you with a laboratory such as exists nowhere else.[151]

The abstracts listed above falls in the same vein as the Asiatic Researches by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Max Muller professes an immense love and respect towards India. This curiosity when coupled within historiographical readings appears to be extremely disturbing; the motive behind the entire exercise of bringing in candidates with an explicit aim of understanding and classifying India becomes a part of the imperialistic exercise. The Indian Civil Service was made in order to bring about a systematic mode of administration. Many of these collectors who were appointed contributed regularly to journals and publications. The contributions ranged from jurisprudence, musesmatics, literature, archeology, ethnology surveys and culture studies. A huge emphasis was also put on agriculture and indigenous industries. Muller's admiration for India is very explicit. The problems which arise lie in the image which is created. The imperialistic gaze is voyeuristic in its approach. On one hand through the surveys by the British officialdom an attempt was made to understand India and its relation to the British interests in India. On the other hand through this understanding there was a filtration of vision of the reality around; which was inclusive and exclusive at the same time. The attempt was to project India within the parameters of Orientalistic despotism and the mechanics of Orientalism. This led to the creation of British, European and Indian imperialistic historiography.

Max Muller participates in the imperial exercise in the fields of literature and ethnology. The western historiography of Sanskrit like the growth of German ideology has always been preoccupied with the nature of race and race studies. William Jones with his discourses on language and race, the Germans like Schlegal, Weber, Bopp and Herder were preoccupied with the problem of the origins of the Aryan race. Muller notes:

> I am not speaking as yet of the history of India as it is, but of something for more ancient, the language of India, or

> Sanskrit. None supposes any longer that Sanskrit was the common source of Greek, Latin and Anglo-Saxon. This used to be said, but it has long been shown that Sanskrit is only a collateral branch of the same stem from which spring Greek, latin and Anglo-Saxon and not only these, but all the Tentonic, all the Celtic, all the Slavonic languages may the languages of Persia and Aremenia also.[152]

The idea of the common source is rooted in the antiquity of Sanskrit. William Jones had pointed out the similarities in the root words of Sanskrit and the European languages. He had discovered the role of language formation and language clusters. This led him to the comparative mode of analysis with cultures trnsnationally. Max Muller also tends to examine the primacy of Sanskrit within the Aryan paradimn. Muller further mentions on the supremacy of Sanskrit.

> First of all, its antiquity – for we know Sanskrit at an earlier period then Greek. But what is far more important than its merely chronological antiquity is the antique state of preservation in which that Aryan language has been handed down to us.[153]

It's the role language traces which the Orientalists traced to bring about 'a complete picture of the State of civilization previous to the Aryan separation'. The sample area of Mullers inquiry is limited. He had restricted his survey of India only to Vedic India. He does not examine the growth of the Indian intellectual tradition which continues on after the Vedic period. There had been historiographical justification regarding the choie of the period by the Orientalists. In a mode to justify their imperialistic presence the Indian historical ephocs had been treated with the infant to an adult analogy. The Vedic period was stated to be the golden period of India's cultural development. The present was in a state of decay and it needed the

imperialistic presence to bring it back on par with the modernity principles of the Enlightenment. Max Muller remarks:

> Let me therefore explain at once to my friends who may have lived in India for years, as civil servants, or officers, or missionaries, or merchants and who ought to know a great deal more of that country than one who has never set foot on the soil of Aryavarta, that we are speaking of two very different India's. I am thinking chiefly of India, such as it was a thousand, two thousand, it may be three thousand years ago; they think of the India of today.[154]

Max Muller represents the Orientalists in the Orientalists and the Anglacists debate. The anglicisation of Indian Education was largely dependent on the change in the perception of the future imperialistic India. James Mills *History of British India* is one of the most phenomenal texts which influenced Imperialistic historiography. Muller is critical about James Mill's History. He notes:

> Mill in his estimate of the Hindu character is chiefly guided by Dubois, a French missionary and by Orme and Buchanan, Tenant and Ward, all of them neither very competent nor very unprejudicied judges. Mill however picks out all that is most unfavourable from their works, and omits the qualifications which ever these writers felt bound to give to their wholesale condemnation of the Hindus.[155]

Muller instead feels that the history written by Colonel Sleeman is more representative. Colonel Sleeman was the commissioner for the suppression of thuggee. Muller states:

> The Thuggs were professional assassins, who committed murder under a kind of a religious sanction... In order to hunt up these gangs, Colonel Sleeman had constantly to

> live among the people in the country, to gain their confidence, and to watch the good as well as the bad features in their character.[156]

Muller draws attention to a singular achievement by Colonel Sleeman. Colonel Sleeman was among the first to draw attention to the village communities in India and 'their importance in the social fabric of the whole country both in ancient and in modern times'....[157] Muller goes on further to mention :

> .... that all the native virtues of the Hindues are intimately connected with their village life.[158]

Colonel Sleemans campaign against the thugee movement has been examined by historiographers as a means to control the dissident tribes and the subaltern voices of resistance. The long Campaign had led to indiscriminated arrests and deaths. It could also be termed as the imperialistic arm moving from urban locals to the rural districts; where the nature of the British presence was different. Most of the districts civil stations were small with a minimal presence of white administrators. The nature of Colonel Sleemans Campaigns also helped in controlling the districts with a repressive police apparatus. The idea was to control dissent and maintain control at any cost.

Max Muller is firmly grounded within German romanticism with his view towards India. He had studied at Leipzig University and had worked at Berlin, Paris and London; which were known centres for Orientalism. He reached Oxford in 1848. Muller never came to India to examine at first hand the nature of India. His scholarship was a collage of known scholarship on India within the archives. He appears to be extremely sympathetic to India; until one examines the nature of his scholarship and the inquiry. The archive he bases his scholarship on was an Orientalistic exercise.

A plausible reason for his veneration by Indians could be the loss of national confidence and the lack of personal self esteem under the effects of colonialism. He assumes greater credibility as a sympathetic friend and commenter on account of his presence in the Imperialistic hierarchy. The Indian consciousness labouring under colonialism demanded and appreciated the knowledge of India's glorious past and knowledge systems; especially when it came from a European Orientalist who was working under the foot steps of William Jones. Moreover Muller was seen as the alternative voice in a changing anglicized society within India through the efforts of Grant, Mill and Macaulay.

British reforms had brought about a sea change in modernity within Indian culture. This modernity was reflected in the writings, reform movements and the religious upheaveals in India. The response to this modernity was varied in India. Raja Rammohan Roy in his reform movement on Sati and English education, the formation of the Brahmo Samaj, Dayanand Saraswati and his formation of the Arya Samaj, the Young Bengal movement and the responses by Vivekananda and Aurobindo were different and varied in their response and strategies.

The Orientalistic controversy also attracted a lot of interest on the part of the Indians. The Indians like Raja Rammohan Roy, Sri Aurobindo and Ishwar Chandra Vidhyasagar constantly commented and reacted and resisted the reform and the orientalistic debates of the day. Raja Rammohan Roy was the most vocal of the early Indians who had commented and resisted the imperial debates of the day. *Tohfatu 1-Muwahhidin* the earliest known tract attributed to Rammohun Roy was in Persian. Bengali was not the language of intellectual discourse then as noted by Bruce Carlisle Robertson who has a biography on him. This early tract in Persian brings out the idea of critical inquiry which had begun with the translation projects. Here he

brings about an attack on idolatry and four classes of human beings. The first are deceivers who invent doctrines, the second are who are unwittingly deceived, the third group are both deceivers and deceived and lastly there are those who neither deceive nor are deceived. He places the religious leaders within the first category. What was the major problem that Rammohun Roy had against the religious establishment of his day? He does not denounce Hinduism but on the other hand he moves away from all outward forms of worship to move towards his Vedantic phase, keeping his idea of truth within the Upanishads. The movement towards Vedanta is not only keeping towards an idea of an unadulterated form of religion but also has to do with the idea of modernity which was prevalent then. There was an outburst of tracts and publications regarding the state of religion then as European modernity as a dominant ideology for progress had intervened into Indian society. By going back to the Upanishads did Roy seek to break the stranglehold on religion by the Brahmins of the time; who advocated Sati and rituals? Religion had at the time been under the control of select interpreters. Idolatry and blind worship did not fit into the ideas of so called modernity ushered in by the British. It could be termed as a regressive step. Hence Rammohan Roy's attempts at moving Indian belief towards a monotheistic version of divinity. A deity without form was the ultimate truth. This was the true essence of Indian philosophy which was beyond mere superstition and black magic. God as the spirit could be understood within Christian theology. Ray had summarized his personal religion, which meant getting back to the ‘Absolute Originator’.

Interestingly this truth was also appreciated by the British through the various translation projects on the Vedas and the Upanishads by William Jones, Colebrooke, James Princep, Charles Wilkins and others. Rammohun Roy's exposure to the idea of western modernity was coupled with his business interests along with the family

background that he came from. His family had been long in the service of the Moghuls though being from a very orthodox Kulin Brahmin family. Moreover Rammohan Roy was perceived to be close to the British establishment. This was not well received by the elite Brahmin scholars of his day.

Modernity was seen to be intruding into the daily lives of the people overturning the very social fabric of the day. People eager to participate within the monetary benefits of the British rule had to face a threat towards their religious beliefs. With the advent of Fort William college there had been an increasing awareness about the new trends of thought within the European enlightenment. The Anglicist and the Orientalistic controversy had led to texts being prescribed to begin English studies in India. Gauri Vishwanathan has examined this. Moreover Priya Joshi has also looked at the entire publishing industry and the modification of the public reading taste and opinions through the colonial libraries and the role of Macmillan publications within this entire colonial encounter. Hence entire role of education is crucial. The Western mode of education was seen as a vehicle of progress; especially among the educated Indian elite. The rationality and the scientific approach had its admirers which gradually led to the institutionalization of European useful arts and literature. This led to a degree of acceptance and resistance. Rammohun Roy realises the inevitability of the European encounter and the limited means at the modes of the Indians at resisting it. There is an acceptance; if at least of the superior nature of science and scientific approach; and the need to participate in it. This acceptance is not without the idea of resistance as can be noted by most of Rammohun Roy's tracts on social reform and education. Raja Rammohun Roy mentions in tract *On Settlement in India by Europeans* (1832) the advantages of imperial rule. He also mentions the advantages and the disadvantages of the rule in this tract.

> Secondly: By a free and extensive communications with the various classes of the native inhabitants the European settlers would gradually deliver their minds from the superstitions and prejudices, which have subjected the great body of the Indian people to social and domestic inconvenience and disqualified them from useful exertions.[159]

This is in keeping with the growing trend of modernity in Bengal. The colonial presence is seen and noted as the catalyst of change by Roy. One must look at the phrase 'By a free and extensive communications' [160]; communication is the key with Roy; if one examines the numerous tracts by him and the others. Magazines like The Calcutta Review, The Bengal Hurukuru, The Asiatic Researches, magazines edited by Bhartendu Harishchandra, tracts political or religious in content all helped in bringing out a dialogue, an interface where there was an expression of assent or dissent. In this complex flux; a matrix of opinion was formed which could be termed as a dialogue between two cultures and multiple identities. He further mentions:

> Thirdly: The European settlers being more on par with the rulers of the country, and aware of the rights belonging to the subjects of a liberal government, and the proper mode of administering justice, would obtain from the local governments, or from the Legislature in England, the introduction of many necessary improvements in the laws and judicial system; the benefits of which would of course extend to the inhabitants generally, whose conditions would thus be raised.[161]

This keeps in tandem with the entire argument of modernity Roy talks about. Of course the question which arises here is in the nature of improvement Roy

seeks. He had mentioned in his tract on on the defects in the judicial system in the *Questions and Answers on the judicial system in India:*

> As European judges in India are not generally expected to discharge judicial duties satisfactorily, independent of native assistance, from not possessing a through knowledge of the languages, manners, customs, habits and practices of the people, and as the natives who possess this knowledge have long been accustomed to subordination and indifferent treatment, and consequently have not the power of commanding respect from others, unless joined by Europeans, the only remedy which exists , is to combine-the knowledge and experience of the native with the dignity and the firmness of the European.[162]

He further mentions in *Remarks on Settlement in India by Europeans about* the liberating effect of the new knowledge and the need for it.

> Fifthly: The European settlers, from motives of benevolence, public spirit and fellow-feeling towards the native neighbours, would establish schools and other seminaries of education for the cultivation of the English language throughout the country, and for the diffusion of a knowledge of European arts and sciences; where at present the bulk of the natives (those residing at the presidencies and I some large towns exempted) have no more opportunities of acquiring this means of national (improvement that if the country had never had any intercourse or connection whatever with Europe.
>
> Eighthly: The same cause would operate to continue the connection between Great Britain and India on a solid and permanent footing; provided only the latter country be governed in a liberal manner, by means of Parliamentary superintendence, and such other legislative checks in this

country as may be devised and established. India may thus, for an unlimited period, enjoy union with England, and the advantage of her enlightened government: and in return contribute the greatness of this country.

Ninthly: If, however, events should occur to effect a separation between the two countries, then still the existence of a large body of respectable settlers (consisting of Europeans and their descendants, professing Christianity, and speaking the English language in common with the bulk of the people, as well as possessed of superior knowledge, scientific, mechanical, and political) would bring that vast Empire in the East to a level with the other large Christian countries in Europe, and by means of its immense riches and extensive population, and by the help which may reasonably expected from Europe, they (the settlers and their descendants) may succeed sooner or later in enlightening and civilizing the surrounding nations of Asia.[163]

There is an increasing hegemony of the English language as a means of material progress, keeping in view Roy's idea of commerce and participation, and it can be seen within the then nationalistic agenda which was still nascent, of resisting the coloniser with his own tools. Indeed Roy does not mention this directly but he is aware of the liberating benefits of the coloniser's culture and the idea of pragmatic resistance; both at the personal level as well as at the national level. In a way he anticipates the freedom struggle which largely used the education and the ideas of progress of the coloniser. In a colonial encounter the first stage would be Acceptance, the second would be Assimilation + Realization, the third stage would be Resignation + Realization and the forth stage would be Realization + Independent Ego leading to an overt war for independence. He mentions on the idea of an incipient independence

struggle in the *Remarks on Settlement in India by Europeans.* The Sepoy mutiny was to occur in 1857, Rammohun Roy passed away on the 8 April, 1831 in England.

> Some apprehend , as the forth probable danger, that if the population of India were raised to wealth, intelligence, and public spirit, by the accession and by the example of numerous respectable European settlers, the mixed community so formed would revolt (as the United States of America formerly did) against the power of Great Britain, and would ultimately establish independence. In reference to this, however, it must be observed that the Americans were driven to rebellion by misgovernment, otherwise they would not have revolted and separated themselves from England The mixed community of India, in like manner, so long as they are treated liberally, and governed in an enlightened manner, will feel no disposition to cut off its connection with England, which may be observed with so much mutual benefit to both the countries. Yet, as before observed, if events should occur to effect a separation, (which may arise from many accidental causes, about which it is vain to speculate or make predictions), still a friendly and highly advantageous commercial intercourse may be kept up between two free and Christian countries, united as they will then be by resemblances of language, religion, and manners. [164]

Roy is balanced on the second stage of Assimilation + Realization. Realization here means the awareness of the colonized state and the participation within its discourse. It would also include its ruptures, interfaces and the means to resist the discourse. It is just not a plain mimicry or the third space as Homi Bhabha puts it, rather it becomes area specific with its own parameters: the parameters of history, geography, chronological time and individual v/s collective action. Colonization has never been a historical

deconstructive linguistic word play but has had definite material and ideological consequences.

Further Roy mentions in the tract that the settlement would help within the modes of cultivation and an improvement of the products with references to sugar and indigo. He also feels the improvement in the areas of mechanical arts and commerce where the "natives would of course benefit". The imperial rule would help in the modernization of culture which is at the heart of Roy's thesis. Things appear clear in the modernising effects of imperial rule which has a positive effect on the nation and the people. The British rule is seen to have an agenda of improvement based on the superior benefits of science and rationality. He also mentions the disadvantages of the settlement. He remarks:

> First: The Europeans settlers being a distinct race, belonging to the class of the rulers of the of the country, may be apt to assume an ascendancy over the aboriginal inhabitants, and aim at enjoying exclusive rights and privileges, to the depression of the larger, but less favoured class; and the former being also of another religion, may be disposed to wound the feelings of the natives, and subject them to humiliation on account of their being of a different creed, colour and habits. As a remedy or preventive of such a result, I would suggest, 1st, That as the higher and better educated classes of Europeans are known from experience to be less disposed to annoy and insult the natives than persons of lower class, European settlers, for the first twenty years at least, should be from among educated persons of character and capital, since such persons are very seldom, if ever, found guilty of intruding upon the religious or national prejudices of persons of uncultivated minds; 2nd. The enactment of equal laws, placing all classes on the same

footing as to civil rights, and the establishment of trial by jury (the jury being composed impartially of both classes), would be felt as a strong check on any turbulent or overbearing characters amongst Europeans.

...Some apprehend , as the forth probable danger, that if the population of India were raised to wealth, intelligence, and public spirit, by the accession and by the example of numerous respectable European settlers, the mixed community so formed would revolt (as the United States of America formerly did) against the power of Great Britain, and would ultimately establish independence. In reference to this, however, it must be observed that the Americans were driven to rebellion by misgovernment, otherwise they would not have revolted and separated themselves from England The mixed community of India, in like manner, so long as they are treated liberally, and governed in an enlightened manner, will feel no disposition to cut off its connection with England, which may be observed with so much mutual benefit to both the countries. Yet, as before observed, if events should occur to effect a separation, (which may arise from many accidental causes, about which it is vain to speculate or make predictions), still a friendly and highly advantageous commercial intercourse may be kept up between two free and Christian-countries, united as they will then be by resemblances of language, religion, and manners.......[165]

Rammohun Roy's critique of the social and the religious fabric of the day was a result of his entire upbringing and the fact that he had been serving in the East India Company. He had served as a Divan or secretary to the collector of Dacca-Jalalpur Thomas Woodforde (7th March -14th May 1403), in 1805 he had served as the head clerk of the Faujdari Adalat (court) with John Digby (21st August - 18th October), he was also a Divan at Rangpur (1812-1815).[166]

He has been favourably regarded in the Despatches of the East India Company. Our understanding of the kind of modernity he professed in religion and education has to be read keeping his proximity to the East India Company and the leading Orientalists of his day like H.H.Wilson and the Serampore Missionaries. John Digby had been a student of the first batch of the Fort William College. Roy was well acquainted with Mrytunjay Vidyalankar who was William Carey's chief pundit at the Bengali department at Fort William. S.D. Collet mentions in her biography on Roy of the Times Report dated 29th October 1872 which said that Digby and Roy spent a lot of leisure time together reading western classical literature.[167] Alexander Duff of the Serampore Missionaries also mentions that Rammohan began studying English at the age of twenty-two (in 1794) only mastering it when thirty years old. This could be interpreted as a conscious effort to be a part of the establishment of the day. English education had become a mode of progress for the people. Moreover it had also become a language of discourse for the point of interaction with the coloniser. The role of language here is crucial, because it displays a very ambiguous attitude towards the use of language. There is a dual space which is occupied. One is the vernacular tongue which resides in the private sphere; and the other is the language of the public sphere. The vernacular sphere had within its private space created a space for individual articulation. The Indian traditional norms of knowledge were flourishing in the face of western education according to Bruce Robertson. He points to a large number of Vedic pathshalas in Bengal. This was not the case according to Ward, who in his *View of the History, Literature, and the: mythology of the Hindoos* had mentioned:

> Amongst one hundred thousand bramhuns, there may be one thousand who learnt the grammer of Sungskritu; of whom four or five hundred may read some parts of the

> kavyu, and fifty some parts of ulunkaru shastrus. Four hundred of this thousand may read some of the smritees: but not more than ten, any part of the tuntrus, three hundred may study Nayu, but only five or-six the meemangus, the sankhyu the vedantu, the patunjulu, the voishesiku shastras, or the vedu.[168]

David Koph also points to the same picture. He mentions:

> Bengal had virtually no Vedantic schools and, with the possible exception of Nabakrishna Deb's pundit, Jaganath Tarkapanchan, and one of Rammohun's own pundits, Ram Chandra Vidyabagish, we have little evidence of Vedantists developing in the region's highly scholastic and ritualized cultural atmosphere. [169]

Bruce Robertson mentions that:

> Vedanta or Deism as the Evangelical Serampore Baptists called it, was viewed as a serious threat to the Christian missions in Bengal.[170]

Infact Rammohun Roy mentions in his *Final Appeal to the Christian Public* that those who sought instructions in shastra need look no further than Calcutta. There they would find Muthas where a full range of classical Hindu subjects were taught. Even the missionary's libraries contained the 'original Vedanta works'. [171] In midst of this we find Rammohan Roy translating the Vedas and its commentaries into English. He did this with a specific purpose. The first one was to bring out the society from the clutches of orthodoxy; and the second was to work on the historical amnesia that had followed the Mohammedan conquest. He mentions in his *Additional Queries Respecting the Condition of India*:

> The country having been so long under subjection to the arbitrary military government of the Mohammedan rulers, which showed little respect for Hindu learning , it has very much decayed and indeed almost disappeared except among the Brahmins in some parts of the Dakhan (Deccan), and of the Eastern side of India, more distant from the chief seat of Mohammedan power. The Mussulmans, as well as the most respectable classes of hindues chiefly, cultivated Persian Literature.[172]

Roy brings out the popular historiography of his day. This was not so with the British who had viewed the Mughals with a far greater respect for being the conquering race. They had a greater awareness with the Muslims their culture and religion right through the times of the crusades in Europe and the Middle East. Instead the popular reading of history was shifted to the moral lassitude of the Hindus. What can be gathered through this is that Roy was not just reacting to tracts from his opponents or the missionaries but he had a further agenda informed no doubt by a very western sensibility emanating from the public sphere. It would be a very broad comment to remove this as merely a reaction. It appears to be more than this. The translations of Roy had been greatly appreciated; by the Orientalists of his day. There is an interesting report published by The Times dated 13 June 1831. It reads:

> We hail his arrival as a harbinger of those fruits which must result from the dissemination of European Knowledge and Literature, and of those sound principles of rule and government which it is the solemn obligation of Great Britain to extend to her vast and interesting empire in the

> East. We have in RMR an example of what we may expect from such an enlightened course of policy. [173]

The public opinion towards Roy in India could be termed as hostile to the least. He had antagonized the pundits by his attempt to translate the Brahma sutras. At the same time the Precepts controversy had alienated the Serampore missionaries against him. This had continued for long enough for Ward to write *A Defense of the Deity and Atonement of Jesus Christ in Reply to Rammohun Ray.* What one finds is that the establishment was not against him; it was the society at large. It was only those sections of the society who stood most to lose in the existing setup. The Pundits stood to lose their carefully built up vocation; and the missionaries stood to loose; mainly because of the indifferent attitude displayed by the East India Company about non interference with religion. At the same time educated Indians with a foundation of Christianity had begun reacting and commenting on it.

It can appear that Roy had absolutely capitulated towards the British; when one looks at the letter to Lord Amherst titled A Letter on English Education. It is an appeal to him to remove the teaching of Indian ethics and Sanskrit studies out of the new Sanskrit school that was being opened. S. D. Collet mentions:

> The British Government was known to be appropriating funds for the promotion of Indian education; and the kind of promotion most desirable was the subject of eager discussion. Should the government seek simply to develop and deepen the education already in vogue in India? Or should it boldly endeavour to introduce the innovations of European science and European culture? The 'Orientalists' clamoured for the exclusive pursuit of Oriental studies. They were hotly opposed by the 'Anglicists', chief among whom was Rammohun Roy. The Government seemed inclined to yield to the Orientalist view and announced the intention of

> establishing a Sanskrit College in Calcutta. This step drove Rammohun, undaunted by the scant courtesy which his foremost appeals to the British authorities had received—to address a Letter on English Education to Lord Amherst, the new Governor General.[174]

Roy mentions in the letter:

> We were filled with sanguine hopes that this sum would be laid out in employing European gentlemen of talent and education to instruct the natives of India in Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Anatomy, and other useful sciences, which the natives of Europe have carried to a degree of perfection that has raised them above the inhabitants of other parts of the world.[175]

The letter brings out the worst out of Roy in looking at it in a modern historiographical angle. Here we have a document which actually falls into the imperialistic trap. There was nothing better than having an informed native who brought out the best elements of the Enlightenment. After all Roy had been doing precisely what the British had wanted. This has to be understood. He wanted a Westernized education to be taught. He had also founded an Anglo Hindu school at Calcutta to try out his beliefs. Roy further mentions:

> If it had been intended to keep the British nation in ignorance of real knowledge, the Baconian philosophy would not have been allowed to displace the system of the schoolmen which was the best calculated to perpetuate ignorance. In the same manner the Sanskrit system of education would be the best calculated to keep this country in darkness, if such had been the policy of the British legislature. But as the improvement of the native population is the object of the Government, it will consequently

> promote a more liberal and enlightened system of instruction, embracing mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Anatomy, with other useful sciences, which may be accomplished with the sums proposed by employing a few gentlemen of talent and learning educated in Europe and providing a college furnished with necessary books, instruments, and other apparatus.[176]

He mentions in his letter that the study of Sanskrit would widen the gap with the Europeans and more important would not allow the Indians into commercial dealings with the West. It is an appeal for useful arts to be administered. It was not just a gesture of capitulation. It had a definite design behind the statements. It could be termed as pragmatic participation. An Assimilation + Realization stand mentioned earlier. Moreover in 1826 he founded his own Vedanta College to provide advanced Sanskrit instructions in Vedanta Shastra.[177] Roy had a great standing with the British can be seen in the fact that when he passed away in England; Lord Bentick had instituted a chair in his name on a grant of five hundred rupees.

Roy's stand appears to be ambivalent. He was all for Western education but hankered to be a Sanskrit pundit. He achieved recognition through the Orientalists of his day like H.H.Wilson who quoted him to be one of the most authentic Vedanta commentators. He appealed against the problem of Sati, was against the use of Sanskrit in schools and colleges but later founded a Vedanta college of his own. He had alienated all the pundits and missionaries of his day through his commentaries. He was also extremely well received by the British government. There is a public sphere and the private sphere in the space for articulation. Roy appears to be articulating both to suit his ends. He was associated with the East India Company and so had to move within the thin dividing line in outlining his resistance. His resistance was not of the sort that the radical Young Bengal Movement followed or a largely nationalistic one by

Vivekananda, Aurobindo and Gandhi. This was a pragmatic resistance of participating with the coloniser and voicing dissent from the margins. It was a resistance which was tinged with the ideas of commerce and enterprise. To progress one had to participate within the language of the colonizer; a scheme which was brilliantly uttered by Derozio, Swami Vivekananda and Sri Aurobindo. This is the public sphere of articulation. The private sphere happens to be Roy the Vedantist who had campaigned for the proper interpretation of the Vedas. Absolute resistance was not possible at the time mainly due to the dominant control of the British government. This is seen with the writers of his age like Bankim Chandra who had to end *Anandmath* talking about the positive aspects of the British rule at the end of his novel. The novel had articulated the early stages of Indian nationalism.

The colonial discourse with Roy operates within the thin interface of dissent; at the same time does not alienate the ‘Other’ completely. The resistance displayed cannot be termed as explicit or overt; rather it is participates in a dialogue never really intruding into the coloniser's space so as to threaten it. It displays an awareness of the period where the sense of the individual is still caught up within the state. The role of independence cannot be contemplated cannot be contemplated here, nor is it nationalistic in a way as it is seen within Vivekananda or Aurobindo. It is a language of 'strategic participation'. One finds a huge difference between the public utterances and the private sphere of movement at this period; leading to a participatory form of resistance.

Sri Aurobindo like Raja Rammohan Roy had formulated a plan of resistance and had commented extensively on the colonial discourse. His *The Renaissance in India* [178] is a site of response which frames a response to the arguments, the language and the logic of the colonizer in remapping historiography which counters the imperial one. The text is

a set of four essays published by Sri Aurobindo in his journal *Arya* between August and November 1918 in response to James Cousin's book bearing the same title *The Renaissance in India*[179] which appeared in June 1918.

The popular imperial historiography states that there had been a renaissance in India which had been a positive effect of the British rule in India. This view had been echoed by much of the writings of the period which talked about the positive effects and the peace associated with the East India Company and after 1857 the British government in India. There were dissenting voices which tried to look at it critically. Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Bhartendu Harishchandra, Bankim Chandra, Tagore, Vivekananda, Subhramaniam Bharti, Goverdhan Ram Tripathi, Narayana Guru, Justice Ranade and others articulated the problems associated with this historiography.

James Cousins commenting on the Renaissance took a standpoint that India needed no 'awakening' and she had always been 'awake'. Cousins further on mentioned the process of cultural assimilation that characterized the 19th century. He commented that a renaissance was taking place in India. Cousin's placed his argument on India in the numerous visible symbols of faith that were present in temple architecture and its religion as a living testimony of its history. According to him England had moved away from its history which was of a written kind and documented but India" carried her history with her , not in books, but in her thought and her blood". James Cousins mentioned the renaissance as the breakdown of the social resistance in terms of modernity. India had adopted the coloniser’s knowledge paradigms and was in the process of appropriating the colonizing discourse. Cousin's formulation pinpoints India within the static format. The unchanging Orient was one of the major tropes of Orientalism. This helped in imposing the imperial historiography in terms of modernity versus the degenerate paradigm.

Sri Aurobindo in his response mentioned in his essay that India was in a state of decline by the time the British assumed the coloniser status. This is the popular imperial historiography which suggests that India had declined after the end of the Mughal dynasty. Aurobindo mentioned that the British had assumed the nature of saviours and they were in fact responsible for the regeneration of the Indian civilization which is termed as the Indian Renaissance. The fall in the Indian culture and the lack of modernization had been attributed to the excess of religion and rituals which dominated the Indian religion; which had grown into a sea of superstitions and had prevented India's progress. Aurobindo admitted that the fall had set in. He mentioned that it took place in three stages akin to a flame going off. First it is bright then diminishes and finally it just smoulders. The spirituality in India lived in intellectual fragments in the same way. This was the moment according to Aurobindo that the British rule and modernity was established and an individual with curious blend of 'native and European clothes' stepped in and who had no realization of the Indian past. Most contemporary historians talk about the decline that had set in by the end of the Mughal rule. Writers commenting then also had attributed the fall in Indian critical and creative thought as the fallout of the Mughal rule. Commentators like Sir William Jones, H.T. Colebrooke and James Princep of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and Sir Alexander Cunningham the first director of the Archaeological Survey of India, William Carey the Serampore missionary and James Mill had brought about the discourse of India's degenerate present. James Mill's *The History of British India* was particularly responsible for the formation of imperial discourse in the 19^{th} century. This also had to do with the Hindu antipathy towards the centuries of Muslim rule. Aurobindo did not refer to the pro and the cons of the Mughal rule but rather concentrated on the veracity of the Indian Renaissance and the future growth of India.

He began by looking into the nature of spirituality in India its importance in fostering the past that was ancient India. It was a period according to him which brought about the best in scientific and spiritual standards. It was a mistake according to him to attribute the fall to an excess of spirituality. He goes on to add that for countering imperialism; only a nation that had achieved the highest in terms of material and intellectual progress could achieve the heights of spiritualism which would regenerate India. India in popular imperial discourse was steeped in poverty and blind paganism. Aurobindo perceived the present then in terms which could be described as regeneration. He did not discount colonial rule rather he saw it as a spur towards regeneration. He objectified the situation and suggested a series of stages which could help in the regeneration. He mentioned that "the recovery of old spiritual knowledge" was the first objective and the "flowing of this spirituality into new forms of philosophy, literature, art, science and critical knowledge" was the second objective and a "synthesis of the spiritualized society" was the third most difficult objective which would arise out of the encounter with modernity and which would contribute to the growth of the Indian Renaissance which was yet to come. Aurobindo did not subscribe to the idea of the historians and James cousins idea that a renaissance was taking place in India.

Aurobindo did not subscribe to the view that India is dead but rather in a state of slumber which was beginning to be articulated within the nationalistic struggle which had begun by then. He also had very strong reservations against a blind parodying and a blind aping of the west. The cultural encounter had in the initial phase bred a culture which was a pale imitation of the colonizer. It proved to be the first step in the articulations of the resistance which led on to the nationalistic struggle and the phase of total home rule.

'Modernity' was an important trope in the 19 century culture. Powered by the Enlightenment objectification and scientific reason India was getting translated through a variety of ways. Surveys (Settlement, topography, museums, linguistic and ethnology) and education had brought about immense changes in cultural perception. Aurobindo commented on the nature of the response to modernity in his essay. Firstly he said that modernity and its influences allowed the intellect to grow and it had begun to spread in all 'directions'. Secondly the modernity made one look into ones past and forced one to examine it critically and it would not have been the same if the past had gone on unchallenged. Thirdly he says that one must look at the past with a 'new light' which would bring about a fresh look 'to old truths fresh aspects and therefore novel potentialities of creation and evolution.' This had been achieved in sorts by Vivekananda who had dwelled deep into the Indian classical past to bring about a synthesis to suit the modern present.

Sri Aurobindo examined the nature of the second Renaissance in India. He mentioned that it should be spiritual in nature. He said that Indian metaphysics would always be a part of the Indian tradition more as an 'intellectual approach to spiritual realization'. It was different from the western intellectual tradition and the role of science that took the place of philosophy in modern Europe. Aurobindo mentioned that metaphysics must guide in creating new ideas of vigour as the Buddhists had done; by doubting the veracity of life and experience in a dynamic way and had created a new order by themselves. He mentioned that all important moments in Indian culture had been preceded by religious revivals. He cites the formation of the Brahmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj and the Vaishnavite movements in Bengal. This was countering the idea of the somnolent form of religion and practice in India that was so often portrayed by the west.

Aurobindo was not clear about the possible outcome of the direction he took through the argument. The idea of the infallible empire was still in the psyche of the Indian subjects. He speculated on the possible route of the Renaissance but expressed the fear which could possibly delay or scuttle the possible regeneration. The spiritual regeneration could not be made to 'suit the limited dogmas, forms and tenets of a particular religion', it rather had to help the people and the country reach the one truth which was the essence of Indian culture. It could not exclude everyday life and its varied problems. In fact spirituality helped in tackling the problems of life in a better way.

Aurobindo commented about the role of science in the West. He mentioned that it was only then that the West was realizing the overdependence on science and its disastrous effects through the World War I. It was the West according to him that had begun its self regeneration not India; England was learning about itself and its past policies; and changing through the 'essential ideas and not the mere forms' from the East. He mentioned that it was the East which was in a way proving itself by providing the natural codes which governed life. Compared to the west the East was in the process of making further mistakes. There was an uncritical reception of the west and he displayed extreme criticism on the idea of an unquestioned borrowing of ideas from the West. The concepts of the west according to him needed to be questioned and interrogated before being floated into common currency. Aurobindo was clear about learning from the mistakes of the past and in the preparation for the future. Europe could admit her mistakes without giving up on science and forge ahead by humanizing it. What prevented India from using the age proven spirituality in the regeneration of the land? Spirituality as mentioned ahead did not mean Orientalized renunciation but rather a dynamic way of dealing with the present. It was the force which had powered the past and properly canalized it could power the present. The imperial historiography

did not mean that by the portrayal of India as weak and superstitious one should give up on religion and Europeanize. Aurobindo concluded that India could regenerate towards the new renaissance by using the new light of modernity in illuminating what went wrong at the moment of colonization and the past and by rectifying what went wrong .

Through this critique of modernity Aurobindo brings about an intense argument of India's past, her present and her possible future. The interesting thing about the whole text is that he is one of the few people who questioned the whole idea of the renaissance in India when the majority had capitulated or had forged responses through the fields of art or literature. Aurobindo was informed through the western modernity. Aurobindo had begun his schooling at a Christian convent at Darjeeling. He was sent to continue his further education in England. He studied at Cambridge and became proficient at two Indian and three classical languages there. He returned to India after 1892 C.E. and took up teaching and administrative positions at the Baroda College which later on grew to become the Maharaja Sayaji Rao University. The period between 1902 and 1910 were crucial in formulating his idea of resistance when he undertook revolutionary activities against the British hegemony. He was imprisoned for articulating his resistance in 1908. Two years later he moved to French Pondicherry to continue his revolutionary activities there and which led on to the establishment of the ashram at Pondicherry. Aurobindo's resistance is one of the many varieties that were exercised in the 19^{th} and the early 20^{th} century. Raja Ram Mohun Roy brought about an active collaboration with the role of British education and reforms but at the same time articulated the indigenous traditions within the popularity of Vedic studies. Swami Dayanand Saraswati moved into the Vedic past in its purest form in staging a counter discourse with the formulation of the Arya Samaj. Swami Vivekananda

motivated public opinion via the west by bringing out a revolutionary interpretation of Hinduism in America and India. Keshub Chandra Sen's The Brahmo Samaj was curious blend of Eastern mysticism and the Western dynamics of reform. Gandhi's resistance moved across the entire spectrum from economic theory to education with the formulation of the Swadeshi doctrine.

Aurobindo very clearly recognizes the dangers of being a hybridized individual without interrogating the influences and ideas from the west. The resistance recognised the problems of modernity but did not point out the complexities involved in the process of resistance. Resistance involves formulating active doctrines which would address the problems of countering the British hegemony via economic theories, reform at the grass roots and the mobilisation of public opinion both in the imperial discourse and the Indian response. Gandhi and to a limited extent Swami Vivekananda with his demystified idea of the regeneration of the youth had addressed these problems. Sri Aurobindo articulates the resistance within Indian mysticism in the hope that it would solve the problem of the intruding modernity. It does not examine the active approaches that would create the renaissance in India. It is an abstract discussion towards the idea of the renaissance which was proposed by James Cousins.

James Cousin’s formulation also does not address India in terms of her growth potential but places it in the static mode of the unchanging present. He proposes an unchanging religious present which was always there and would remain. It does not recognise or address the problems of the so called Renaissance in India. The Renaissance in India was an imperial construction which had sought to explain and legitimize their presence in India. The acceptance of the western modernity by Indians in terms of trade, education, reform and economic growth were interpreted as

deliverance of a heathen nation from the age old superstitions and her lack of a history. This was an imperial construction of the change that had occurred in India and the renaissance that was occurring in India. It did not take into account the resistance formulated and articulated via the indigenous opinions and the resistance involved against the influx of modernity. Modernity had created a problematic situation where the Indian psyche had conditionally accepted its limits and boundaries. Dipesh Chakravarthi examines the problems of modernity in terms of 'Provincialising Europe'. David Koph examines modernity by critiquing the institutions and the tropes of Orientalism like the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Fort William College Project which sought to re-examine and construct Indian history. O.P. Kejariwal holds a very sympathetic view towards the formulation of Indian history by Imperial historiographers in the formation of the Asiatic society of Bengal. Partha Chaterjee examines the problems of the roles of nationalism and the entire issue of the nation and its possibilities. These are post colonial debates that are looking into the paradoxes of modernity. These paradigms were not available during the time of Aurobindo. The resistances that were articulated were within the knowledge systems that were prevalent then. The lessons of modernity helped Aurobindo to foster a counter argument against its nature and the pitfalls of being unquestioningly Eurocentric in attitude. Countering a discourse is to be informed about it and then with an awareness one has to run across its grain. It helped him to articulate his resistance but in limited terms. It was one of the many plural voices that voiced resistance to the interpretations of India and its future in the imperial period.

There was considerable resistance on the parts of the British officials also regarding colonial policy. A.O. Hume a British administrator and collector exerted tremendous pressure on the British administration. He is regarded to have begun the

Indian National Congress and represents the counter face of British colonial policies. He along with Sir William Wedderburn brought out the liberal face of the British economic policies in India. Hume spent a number of years as a District Magistrate at Etawah from 9th March 1858 to February 1867. William Wedderburn was also a member of the Indian Civil Service and a British M.P. (1893-1900). Hume and Wedderburn systematically criticized British policies regarding the economic developmental work, education policies and the integration of the Government with the local population. They were associated with the Indian National Congress and Wedderburn was the President of the Congress in 1889 C.E. and 1910 C.E.

The letters of Hume display a constant nonagreement with the policies of the British Government. The British Government in India was based on the policy of 'difference' and could not bring about policies which would integrate itself with the Indian popular. The Government policies based on 'difference' failed to inquire into the Indian condition in a sympathetic manner. Administration was utilitarian in its approach. Hume and Wedderburn constantly sought to draw the attention of the British Government to the problems within its India policies.

Hume was promoted to the position of the Collector of Etawah on the 9th March 1858. During the course of his tenure Hume managed to change the administrative face of Etawah on the local level. He helped to set up the Etawah Press when the Vernacular Press was under Scrutiny and censorship. He restored vernacular schooling in the District and suggested changes in the Government vernacular Education Policy. He had suggested changes in the Agricultural Bank policy which would help in reducing the agricultural debt on farmers. Hume also criticized the formation of the provincial police system and the practice of flogging in Indian jails, as a form of judicial punishment.

Hume supported the establishment of the Vernacular Press. Hume in a letter to the British Government dated 23rd March, 1858 supported the application of Hukeem Jawahar Lall of Agra who wanted to establish a printing press at Etawah. Hume mentions in the letter.

> The Musdurool Fuze Press was established by the applicant at my suggestion and books for the use of the Hulkabundee Schools as well as official forms and other papers were printed at it, according to my orders, for about 6 months previous to the outbreak. The late disturbances have suspended its operations; the proprietor now applies for permission to establish it.[180]

Sir William Wedderburn comments in his biography[181] on Hume that the newspaper called *Muhib-i-Riaya/Prajhit or People's Friend* was intended for Etawah alone. It was a vernacular newspaper and it was governed and printed by Indians. Wedderburn mentions that the paper had received a very favourable review; with the government of North Western Provinces booking six hundred copies. Wedderburn has an interesting observation to make regarding the newspaper in his biography on Hume. He comments that the newspaper was a result of British liberalism.

> The *People's Friend* came under the favourable notice of the Viceroy, at whose suggestion copies of the paper were forwarded with translations, to the Secretary of State, for submission to Queen Victoria. It was felt that her gracious majesty would be interested in seeing this early specimen of India journalism, and in realizing the gratitude and affection inspired by her personality among the humblest and most distant of her subjects.[182]

Hume had a constant clash with the British government regarding the Press. The Etawah Press represents a point of contention where Hume presses for self

governance of the people and a decentralization of authority from the state to the local centres. Hume mentions in a letter dated 5th October, 1863 to the Government; the problem of centralized government presses and the monopoly created by them.

> It is especially against depriving us of the right to print the Puttiahs and Kuboolyuts and Receipt books, and Huftganah forms, that I wished respectfully to protest.... During this last Revenue year 1,10,000 of my receipts were used in this district alone; and long ago when asked and pressed to secure the copyright of these, I refused, in order that the competition of the various presses might bring their price down to the lowest possible limit; to confer now the exclusive privilege of printing these in the government press appears to me scarcely just.
>
> 4. Trusting that his honour will give the matter his favourable consideration, and permit the Etawah Educational Press to continue as hereto fore to print all the Huftganahs, Puttahs, and Kuboolyuts, and Receipt books of this district and such of the neighbouring ones as prefer to employ us, as also to print the miscellaneous rough work of this district in all departments.[183]

Hume criticized the economic policies of the British Government, which he felt did not address the problems of the local population effectively; he addressed the economic debts being incurred by the Zamindars from the financial institutions. Hume addressed the government in a letter dated 17th November, 1858. Hume urged the government to establish a system of agricultural banks in every district and division. Hume remarks:

> 1(a) Establish in every district, or to begin within every Division, a Government Agricultural Bank for the purpose of advancing loans to Zamindars.

> ....1(c) It would almost enable us in a few years to do away with the Civil Courts, so many of the suits having their origin in transactions between Zamindars and Bankers; it would put a stop to the grinding usury of these latter, the effects of which have been but too apparent in the late disturbances...[184]

Hume's criticism also targets the liquor licensing system. In a letter dated 14th September, 1860 Hume spoke against the licensing system which allowed the production of liquor. The government collected taxes on it. Hume criicised the system and mentioned that the amount earn in liquor taxes was expanded in controlling increasing crime. He mentions:

> To me however the constant growth of the Abkaree revenue is a source of great regret. Year after year, but alas in vain, I protest against the present iniquitous. System which first produced and now supports a large class whose sole interest it is to reduce their fellows into drunkenness and its necessary concomitants, debauchery and crime. Unfortunately these tempters are too successful and year by year the number of drunkards and the demand for drugs and spirituous liquor increases. Those only who like myself take great pains to ascertain what goes on.... Moreover while we debauch our subjects we do not even peculiarly derive any profits from their run-in. Of this revenue, the wages of sin, it may be in the words of the old adage be truly said that ill-gotten wealth never thrives, and for every rupee additional that the Abkaree yields, two at least are lost to the public by crime, and spent by the government in suppressing it.[185]

Hume's criticism also ran against the Thugee movement; in the districts. He criticized the Thagi and the Dakaiti departments, which were about to be restrained at

all the districts. Hume mentions in a letter to Commissioner Harvey the fallacy of the department. The Thugee movement was a sensitive issue with the Government which had appointed Colonel Sleeman to eradicate it. The action had imperialistic overtones as it helped in imposing stiff controls over the districts. Hume notes:

> In the first place I most earnestly depreciate any officers being allowed to open up afresh the cases of Dacoity... Which were committed in this District during the disturbances. On my return to the District in accordance with principles subsequently enunciated by government, I declared that all private wrongs not involving murder should be condoned with the consent of the injured party, on the offenders submitting their case to a jury and the pecuniary compensation that these might award....
> (4) I would therefore most earnestly solicit that whatever Thuggee or Dacoitee Officer to be deputed to this district, be enjoined to take up no case alleged to have been committed here between the 20th May 1857 and the 1st November, 1858.[186]

Hume specifically talks about the problems of presentation entailed by the Thuggi department. He remarks:

> 13. Let any one well acquainted with the habits and customs of our low bred and ill paid Native officials realize to themselves the working of the system, that I have sought to give some idea of, and answer whether it would be possible for an Angel of intelligence and goodness, let alone a mere man of ordinary abilities, to prevent such system from resulting in the grossest injustice and cruelty.[187]

Hume had proposed changes which would decrease the sense of alienation which was created by the Dacoiti perpetuations. He states:

> 15. 1st that all prisoners arrested shall be at once sent to the regular jail....
> 2nd That none of the office or Omlah in any way concerned in the preparation of the case should directly or indirectly share in rewards given for conviction.
> 3rd that in future, material evidence from other quarters besides that of mere informers, no matter how numerous, be required not only for a conviction, but to warrant any arrest, or the search of a respectable man's house.[188]

Commissioner Harvey had taken grave exceptions to the arguments and allegations presented by Hume. He mentioned that Hume had written with an imperfect knowledge of the subject'.[189] Harvey had defended the department and had mentioned that Hume 'has been altogether mistaken in his impressions respecting this department. He had also chastised him for casting aspirations against an important 'permanent establishment of our great Eastern Empire'. Governor General Canning after reviewing Harvey's defence had concluded that Harney had provided 'a most complete and conclusive vindication of the Thuggee Department against the charges brought by Mr. Hume, more especially as they reflect on the conduct of Capt. T.A. Chamberlain to whose work as a public officer ample and High testimony is borne'.[190]

Hume raised his objections again at the Thuggee and the Daciti department. In a letter dated 16th December, 1860 Hume refers to the case of Jaitwar Singh who was to be imprisoned for two years due to budmashee. Hume counter argues by pointing out that the event had taken place thirteen months ago. He could not be arrested without a warrant. Hume notes:

> I would request attention to the annexed extract from major Harvey's letter, from which it appears that the re-arrest of the prisoner, who forms the subject of the present reference, and who, in default of proof of any substantive offence against him is now ordered to give security as a budmash, or be confined for a further period, took place 13 months ago. There must doubtless have been some very sufficient cause for this, but it is these kinds of things which create an unfavourable impression amongst the native public and I for my part confess a sort of English antagonism to a system, under which a man, against whom there is no proof of any crime, can be suddenly torn from his home, confined for more than a year apparently without trial, and then in default of proof of any offence, ordered to find securities, or be imprisoned for a further period.[191]

The Provincial Government[192] upheld Humes argument by mentioning that Lieutenant Walcott had erred in the case and concurred that the Thuggee and the Dacoiti department had 'evinced an improper disregard of the prescribed laws of procedure, and... Mr. Hume was justified in noticing this...' The Government also felt that Hume should have addressed the Thuggee department and not the officiating commander.[193] The Governor General also concerned the concerned parties by mentioning 'deems it necessary to record his strong censure of the spirit of personal hostility thus evinced'.[194]

The thugee department was an imperial institution which had suppressed the rictual murderers of Kali. What is often missed out in Colonel Sleemans campaign is that the department succeeded in imposing a network of rules and laws which would lead on to the creation of criminal tribes and their notifications. The notified tribes and communities were enclosed in camps. Jabalpur became an important center of Sleemans Campaign where the thugees and their families were put into forced labour

in the carpet factories. Hume criticized the arbitrary nature of the arrests conducted by the thugee and the Dakaiti departments.

Hume also campaigned for fairness in procedure within the police system and he had severely criticized the Government System. In a number of cases Hume had to beg pardon for his strong criticism. Hume favoured the institution of fines to imprisonment. Hume mentions in a letter dated January 15th, 1861.

> Great recourse has been had to fining in lieu of other punishment during the past year. After much experience I am convinced that in all misdemeanors and offences in which the law permits a properly graduated fine, heavy enough to be very unpleasant, and yet not too heavy to preclude payment is usually the best punishment, both as regards the Government and the offender....[195]

The lieutenant Governor had strongly supported Hume. The Sadr Nizamat Adalat had concluded that with the new Indian penal code which was to come into operation; a circular on fines then would be 'inexpedient and premature'.[196]

Hume's efforts in police reforms also extended to juvenile crimes and education at Ethwah. Addressing a letter to the Government regarding a children's reformatory at Etawah; Hume mentions in a letter dated February 2nd, 1867

> setting aside the benefit to the individual, no one can doubt that the whole community on whom, if unreformed, they will continue throughout their lives to prey, have a most vital interest in winning over all those professional boy thieves, now so well known everywhere to the police, to the side of order and respectability. There are insuperable difficulties in effecting this all important object, when the boys are distributed throughout the jails of the Province. A

> peculiar system, a set of specially qualified officials, and facilities for constant checking of results by several authorities, are all absolutely necessary; and these are only possible by some such scheme as that which has now been submitted for a special reformatory prison.[197]

Hume's proposal had the support of the Lieutenant Governor Drummand; but he could not convince the Indian Government headed by Sir John Lawrence. The letter by Lawrence mentions:

> Reformatories for juvenile offenders, however desirable in theory, cannot, for some time to come at all events, be safely established after the European model in India.[198]

The argument was that in 1864 C.E. there were only 182 boys in the five central jails and it was not possible to entertain the proposition of a General Reformatory Juvenile Prison at Etawah, as advocated by Hume.[199] Hume's efforts at Jail reforms reflect his views which were often at odds with the British Government. Hume reflected a commitment to the district which was personal in nature. This was at odds with the strict professionalism set within the policy of 'difference' by the British Government.

Hume's preoccupation with reform ranged from education to municipal works. He addressed a report on invitation by the government on the ideas of local vernacular education and policy recommendations. He mentions that the new school budgets had been arranged by a form of educational cess which would be borne by the zamindars and the well to do natives of the district. This had been done by an officer previously in charge of the district. Hume criticized the mode of collecting this cess. He mentions in a letter dated 3rd September, 1859.

> He directed all his Tehseldars to take written agreements from the Zamindars to pay the required cess, and did not even adopt reasonable precautions to assure himself and these agreements had been voluntarily signed, or even signed at all, by the persons in whose names they were executed. The consequence was that tho (ugh) a good deal of money was collected and a few schools opened, general dissatisfaction prevailed, pupils could scarcely be obtained, rooms for a school house were in several instances positively refused and numberless complaints were preferred to higher authorities.[200]

The interesting nature of the report is the study curriculum to be set in the proposed schools. Hume states:

> In all, Hindee writing and reading, Arithmetic and a little Geography, and in many reading and writing Oordoo, decimals and Indian History are also taught; in some, in which we have been fortunate in the masters, algebra, geometry and some rudiments of natural science have also formed a part of the course. Particular stress is said upon children being cleanly, orderly and obedient and each class in addition to the above receives some special instructions (e.g., Book keeping according to the native method, Menstruation, surveying with plane tables, c.) with reference to their probable occupation in after life.[201]

This syllabus has a strong native content and it is at odds with the institutionalized English schools and syllabuses seen in India. Post 1850's the syllabus shows an interesting blend of the modern liberal sciences along with traditional native education like the study of Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic along with the native methods of book keeping. Hume recognized the fallacy of the non-integration of Ideas between the British and the Indians as a possible reason for the 1857 mutiny.

He mentions in the report the destruction of the library at the Etawah Tehseel during the mutiny. He remarks:

> To the central schools the best English as well as vernacular library that our means would admit should be attachd; ours before the disturbances contained 2,000 volumes. Unfortunately it was lodged in the Tehseel and destroyed by the mutineers.[202]

The strong vernacular bias reflects the problems of stereotyping the British Officers and the administration, within the modernization of education schemes. Hume had been able to guage the mood of the people and the possible failures of an overtly European model of education in the moffusil centres and the districts.

One of the most important contributions of Hume along with William Wedderburn was to the growth of Indian Nationalism. They had supervised the establishment of the Indian National Congress which was to play a steller role in the freedom struggle. Hume had served as a full time General Secretary of the Indian National Congress between 1885-1894 C.E. Humes efforts with the formation of the Indian National Congress represents a rupture in the colonialist paradigm. Hume represents an effort by a colonizer to undermine the colonial process itself by his collaboration with the natives. Hume in a circular letter dated 1st March, 1883 addressed the graduates of the Calcutta University. He mentions:

> Constituting as you do, a large body of the most highly educated Indians, you should, in the natural order of things, constitute also the most important source of all mental, moral, social and political progress in India. Whether in the individual or the nation, all vital progress must spring from within, and it is to you, her most cultured and enlightened minds, her most favoured sons,

> that your country must look for initiative. In vain may aliens, like myself, love India and her children, as well as the most loving of these; in vain may they, for her and their good, give time and trouble, money and thought; in vain may they struggle and sacrifice; they may assist with advice and suggestions, they may place their experience, abilities and knowledge at the disposal of the workers but they lack the essential of nationality, and the real work must ever be done by the people of the country themselves.[203]

Hume problematises the colonialist position by laying the agenda of the nationalistic movement. Hume's efforts led to the formation of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress in England. Dadabhai Naoroji represented the Congress in 1887. The movement was accorded its force by Hume; as a part of the ruling hierarchy. The forces arrived against colonialism changes its shape and focus. A native resistance against colonialism is a natural fall out of the colonialist process. Hume represents an internal critique and a form of resistance which cannot be analysed in the present subject and object positions within post-colonial studies. An internal critique within the colonialist process is intrinsic to it.

Hume's efforts within the economic policies present several problems. The first problem is his role as a part of the British Government. The second problem refers to his critical views regarding the government. The third problem refers to his contributions towards the growth of the Indian Natioanlistic movement; with the establishment of the Indian National Congress. The forth problem refers to the analysis of the pro-reform policies and the legacy of Hume.

Charles Freer Andrews belonged to a category of Britishers like A.O. Hume; who voiced their problems and their apprehensions against the British rule. Hume and Andrews were also involved in the growth of the Nationalistic movement in India.

C.F. Andrews is known for his association with Rabindranath Tagore and Shantiniketan and his association with Gandhi. C.F.Andrew's career can be traced through his association with Gandhi in South Africa and India and his enduring friendship with Tagore.

The cases of C.F.Andrews and A.O. Hume are singular for their degree of assimilation with the local public opinion. They brought out the worst excesses of the Raj and its policies; in the process they undermined the imperial policies. C.F.Andrews mentions on the nature of his attraction for India and the manner by which he reconsidered his Christian beliefs with his Indian Nationalistic associations.

> I am beginning to understand from History, as well as from my own inner experience.... that Christianity is not an independent Semitic growth but an outgrowth of Hindu religious thought and life besides...(that) Christ and Buddha are not separate but closely united as one factor in the religious history of the world; that the stream of Hindu-Buddhist life and early Christian life are one stream, not two; that the Upanishads and the Buddhist development lie at the back of the Gospels as their partial source and inspiration.
>
> The Jews crucified Jesus. The men of the East, in the legend of the birth, worshipped him.... That legend, I feel, has a vital truth behind it.... I find it less and less easy to reverence Palestine alone as the motherland of the Christian faith... India lived that very Gosepl-picture centuries before Christ came.... What can it all mean, then, but that Christianity itself has its roots, in the past, in Indian soil, not in Palestine only: and that India in this as in so many other ways is the great Mother in the World's history.[204]

C.F.Andrews had campaigned and petitioned the British Government for racial equality. His observations cited above in the *Indian Opinion* bring out the problems of his Christian belief. He had it found it difficult to reconcile his belief in the Patriarchal world of Christianity with the matrilineal world of India characterized as 'Bharat Mata'. Apart from his deep affection towards India seen through his associations is the deep comparative frame work of religion in which he operates. India is the source of Christianity and the motherland of Christian faith. This world view is very similar to the early nineteenth century, orientalists who held India to be the source of all the linguistic and ethnological purity. The crux of their readings rests in a narrow time frame of Vedic India. C.F. Andrews does not exhibit the imperialistic designs that governed India. He had assimilated into the Indian condition. This was done by accommodating his Christian belief within the Indian pantheon.

C.F.Andrews in this frame work works against the imperial framework but is still firmly within the orientalistic thread that runs through the entire gamut of the Orientalistic readings on India; from Anquetil Du Perron to the orientalists of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. British Orientalism had gone through a number of stages. The discovery and the reconstruction of India are connected to imperial control.

Ramsay MacDonald the British Prime Minister also tried to bring an understanding into the Indian Social situation. The situation by 1930 was fluid and the Nationalistic struggle was reaching its full peak. The British had created categories through their census operations. The census operations had cut through caste and religion. People via the census operations had been divided on communal lines. The political situation at that time was also fluid with different representations from different communities. The Indian National Congress under Gandhi expected a

pan Indian representation which was uncommunal in nature. The greater problem was the role of the untouchables under Dr. BabaSaheb Ambedkar and the representation of Muslims under Mohammed Ali Jinnah. The categories on caste and communal lines had been specifically created by the British for administrative reasons. This had become an explosive problem when it came to the issue of electorate formulas. The Act of 1935 sought to expand the electorate formulas which had been reserved for Muslims to include other Indian minorities like Sikhs, Indians Christians, Anglo Indians, Europeans and regional groups like Marathas in the Bombay Presidency and special interests like women, organized labour, business, land owners and universities. The British also tried to offer separate electorate seats for the 'depressed classes' which menth the 'untouchables' Gandhi had revolted against this and the Congress had seconded it.

The popular feeling was that the British were trying to break the communal harmony by creating a separate category for the untouchables. Dr. Baba saheb Ambedkar had also seconded the idea. Gandhi had conducted protracted negotiations with Ambedkar and electorate seats for the untouchables were increased; on condition that they remained within the larger "Hindu majority fold". As a result the offer for separate-electorate seats for the untouchables was withdrawn.

The divisions created by the British was in keeping with the divide and rule formula; which had been extremely effective in the territorial conquest in the 19th century. There was a deliberate creation of classes and communal identies like Hindus and Muslims during the earlier censuses. This creation and recognition of the population on communal lines led to greater sociological problems like the partition and the riots. Ramsey Macdonald's announcement of the communal award and the

act of 1835 kept with the idea of British interests of driving wedges into the resistance present then.

British Orientalism can be seen as a continuous thread of imperial control. This was done through a series of stages. The first stage can be seen as the linguistic stage characterized through the linguistic researches of Holwell, Halhed, Charles Wilkins and William Jones. The second stage can be noted as the translation stage through the efforts of the Serampore missionaries. Carey, Ward, Marshman and the efforts of H.T.Colebrooke and H. H. Wilson of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The third stage of the construction of India moves from the linguistic analysis to the archeological surveys. This is seen through the efforts of C.F. Mackenzie, James Princep and Alexander Cunningham. The forth stage is the reconstruction of India by the Anglicists like Macaulay, James Mill and Charles Grant. The fifth stage is the assimilative stage where British opinion merged into the Indian nationalistic movement. This is seen in the cases of Max Muller, A.O. Hume and C.F. Andrews. The basic threat that runs through all these arguments and stages is the discovery, the construction and the reconstruction of India.

III

France along with England and Germany led the research into Orientalistic studies. France had begun early on account of their presence in India. The earliest researches in India included the researches of Anquetil Du Perron, the impetus given by Alexander Hamilton to French and German indological studies and the construction of India by Voltaire.

The French after the initial burst of research by Anquetil Du Perron could not control the access of indological materials for strategic reasons. The Anglo French and the Maratha wars in India saw the French receiving severe reverses and their restriction to a few territories in India notably Pondicherry. The French were restricted to Pondicherry after the losses in the Carnatic wars. [205] Chandernagore in

Bengal and Pondicherry in the Northern Sircars were acknowledged French centres which changed hands a number of times with the British.

Following the treaty of Paris in 1763, Pondicherry which had been in English hands since 16th January 1761 was restored to the French on the 11th April, 1765.[206] Chandernagore also had fallen to the British after the Battle of Plassey in 1757 and was restored to the French in 1765.[207] There were military restrictions placed on the French which included a restricted standing army and lack of fortifications. Renault de Saint Germain who succeeded Law de Lauriston as the head of Chandernagore visualized France as a controlling power in India.[208]

The English wanted to monopolise the trade in Bengal. The French records of the period mention the correspondence addressed between the councils of Chandernagore and Calcutta.[209] The principal complaints the French had was the ill treatment of French commercial agents and the English inspection of French goods, ships and factories.[210]

Dupleix the French Governor of Chandernagore had visualized a French empire in India. Faulty trading policies of the Compagnie des Indes and the policies of the French Government had created problems for the expansion of the French colonial enterprise. Henri Martin mentions on Dupleix:

> The genius of a Richelieu had matured in a factory. Dupleix was the first to realize the inevitable result of the contact between the static societies of the East and the progressive societies of Europe.....; he had seen Asia, like America and like the whole world, destined to submit to the law of the European races... Dupleix judged India destined to be conquered, not by other Asians, like those who had ravaged her before, but by Europeans, among the European powers, Portugal had fallen and Holland was

> declining, there remained only France and England. Dupleix was determined to give India to France....[211]

The idea of expansion was still nascent. The British colonial enterprise had begun with the diwani of Bengal. Large areas of India still remained especially the south of India. The problems of revenue and British harassment had resulted with the idea of imperial expansion. Martineau remarks:

> Constantly embarrassed in his trading operations by the delay or insufficiency of funds coming from France, he came slowly to the idea that the only means to get rid of such embarrassments was to find money in India, without waiting for funds from Europe and without having to seek the assistance of Bankers. That made it necessary to have a fixed territorial revenue, the collection of which could be assured only by the exercise of a political power. Thus was first conceived and later developed more fully in the mind of Dupleix the idea of creating for our advantage a sort of colonial empire in India, where we would be practically the masters under the authority, more nominal than real, of Indian Princes, who would owe their thrones or their security to us.[212]

The territorial expansion was common to most colonial powers and it was connected to mercantile enterprise. The problems faced by the French in Bengal and Pondicherry led to them getting associated with the Marathas and Hyder Ali of Mysore. The French policy was brought out in the policy document on relation to Indian powers after 1785. Marechal de Castries the Minister of Marine in a dispatch dated 14th February, 1787 mentioned that the Mughal Emperor had lost his preminance in India and was moreover in the protection of the British. The Maratha ruler of Nagpur the Bhonsla raja was not reliable enough. The Nizam of Hyderabad had extended complete support to the British and would not help the French. This left

Tipu Sultan and the state of Mysore who had emerged as the strongest Indian power who had challenged the British in India.

Tipu Sultan had reservations against the Marathas, the Nizam and the British. The first three Anglo-Mysore wars had seen the duplicity and the frequent changes in alligience; and short termed partnerships. The third Anglo Mysore war had resulted in major losses in territory for Mysore and he viewed the British with a lot of suspicion. Tipu Sultan had also established his embassy to the Isle of France and Governor General Wellesley had declared it to be an act of war Wellesley mentions.

> The act of Tippoo's ambassadors, ratified by himself, and accompanied by the landing of a French force in his country is a public, unqualified and unambiguous declaration of war...[213]

The basic fear of the French presence and Napoleons invasion of Egypt along with Tipu's intrigues with the French resulted in the Forth Anglo Mysore war which ended with the fall of Shrirangapatnam and the death of Tipu Sultan on 4th May, 1799. The fall of Tipu Sultan brought about a complete reversal in the colonial presence in India. The British were left as the sole colonial presence. The Dutch, the French and the Portuguese were left with small territories on the coasts. This resulted in the monopoly of oriental manuscripts and source materials by the British. The appearance of the *Asiatic Researches* brought about an access to sources which the European powers like France and Germany lacked. The *Asiatic Researches* and then later a direct access to materials from the colonies brought about a competitive race into oriental production. French Orientalism was aided to a great extent by Alexander Hamilton an East India Company official.

The role of Alexander Hamilton in the propagation of Indology in France is singular. The first *Asiatick Researches* publication in 1788 had excited huge

Orientalistic interest in England and Europe. The edition had been pirated in London and editions appeared in 1796, 1798 and 1799. Other editions appeared in 1801 and 1806.

Johann Christian Fick and Johann Friedrick Kleuker published a four volume German edition at Riga between 1795-97; A Labaume published a single volume French edition in 1803 and a two volume edition in 1805. A six volume quarto edition of Jones work appeared in 1799 and a thirteen volume edition appeared in 1807. Jone's *Sakuntala* was published at Calcutta in 1789 and was reprinted in 1790, 1796 and 1805. George Foster translated Sakuntala into German in 1791. A Buguiere translated it in French in 1803. Luigi Doria translated the play from French to Italian in 1815.[214]

Alexander Hamilton was the first Professor of Sanskrit at East India College in England. He had served with the East India Company in India and had learnt Sanskrit in Calcutta. He became a member of the Asiatic Society in 1790. Alexander Hamilton had resigned his commission with the East India Company and had returned to England. The peace of Amiens on 25th March 1802 caused the cessations of hostilities between France and England. Alexander Hamilton had reached Paris where he became a prisoner of war by the decree of 23rd May 1803. [215]

Alexander Hamilton helped propogate the knowledge of Sanskrit in Paris. Friedrick Schlegal studied Sanskrit under him and he went on to write *'On the language and the wisdom of the Indians'* in 1808. Schlegals' brother August Wilhelm Schlegal, Franz Bopp and Friedrick Max Muller later studied at Paris. The formation of the Societe Asiatique in Paris caused an explosion of Orientalistic research in France. The enthusiasm and the interest generated by Orientalistic research made France a premier center for Orientalistic research in Europe. The British had ascendancy in terms of a direct control of India. The Asiatic Society of Bengal had

become the premier centre of Orientalistic research in the World. Paris as a center was also catching up in Oriental research Alexander Hamilton states:

> Notwithstanding the superior advantages which the English orientalists derive from our establishments in the Centre of Asia, it may be doubted, whether the zeal and abilities of our (European) neighbours, devoted to the cultivation of eastern learning, will not compensate that disadvantage; and whether we may not in time have more to learn than to communicate.[216]

France had competed with England not only in terms of trade but also in the field of Oriental studies. France had a strong tradition of Oriental services especially after Napoleons invasion of Egypt and the Egypt logical research which accompanied it. The British had recognition of this fact that Europe was catching up with Sanskrit and Oriental studies. The appearance of the *Asiatic Researches* influenced all the Orientalistic centres in Europe. Hamilton mentions:

> From the first establishment of European settlements in India, the attention of missionaries, and of all individuals in any degree tinged with literature had been directed towards a language (i.e. Sanskrit) whose wonderful structure recommended it to investigation, as much as the interesting monuments of high antiquity, which it was said to contain. This curiosity has been transmitted to England, and imported in much larger quantities to the continent of Europe. It has been usually shipped, however, as an article of private trade; and by no means formed a part of the East India Company's regular investment. Their patronage has only been recently extended to literary researches. The eminent persons who now direct that establishment, have not imitated the apathy of their predecessors. [217]

Hamilton comments on the publications of the Asiatic Society and the Oriental bodies in Europe, and the domino effect it had on the countries in Eujrope. The race for Orientalism and the dissemination and the construction of India was recognized by the British. They also realised their unique status as far as the materials and sources were concerned. Inspite of this Europe was catching up with the Oriental studies and specific countries with colonies like France, Holland and Portugal had established Sanskrit chairs in universities and Oriental bodies. Countries without a colonizing presence in India like Germany and U.S.A. had established Orientalistic bodies which utilized the archive that had been created by the Orientalists in India. This was the archive which had begun with the visits by missionaries and adventures like Edward Terry and Francois Bernier to the Mughal courts; who recorded their observations on the customs, habits and their initial observations on India.

Michel Danino [218] mentions that a complete manuscript copy of the *Rig Veda* had been deposited at the Royal library in Paris. The manuscript could not be read until 1780’s. The knowledge of Sanskrit had not developed in Europe then The French relied on scraps and pieces in terms of material. In 1760; a traveler had brought a rendering of the Vedas called the *Ezour-Vedam* to Voltaire. The French Jesuits [219] at Pondicherry had fabricated the Vedas with a negative view of idolatory; in order to propogate Christianity Voltaire had in his desire to further Oriental research had declared the *Ezour-Vedam* to be a proof of the Indian wisdom. Voltaire remarks:

> I am convinced that everything has come down to us from the banks of the gauges, astronomy, astrology metempsychosis etc...........[220]

Voltaire's fascination for India along with Antiquil Du Perrons voyage and researches into the Zend Aveston is an example of the 'source problem', which transformed into the Aryan search in the 19th century; Voltaire mentions:

> The Greeks, in their mythology, were merely disciples of India and of Egypt. [221]

This had been the view of the Orientalists throughout the nineteenth century. The romantic notion of India made it the source of all Western civilizations. William Jone's anniversary lecturers at the Asiatic Society constantly alluded to a comparative framework of civilizations. There was a constant reference to the ancient literature and the antiquity of India. Voltaire remarks:

> If India, whom the whole earth needs, and who alone needs no one, must by that very fact be the most civilized land, she must therefore have had the most ancient form of civilization. [222]

The ancientness of the Indian civilization has been a constant refrain within Oriental studies. India was examined within the rubric of antiquity for many reasons. The search for Aryan roots as well as the changing geo-political situation in Europe; with the shaky feudal order; brought about an intense inner appraisal which was reflected through India's past. This past was romanticized into literature and studies; both through translations and literary works in European languages.

Voltaire had also brought out a critique against the colonial rapacity and brutality. He states:

> We have shown how much we surpass the Indians in courage and wickedness, and how inferior to them we are in wisdom. Our European nations have mutually destroyed themselves in this land where we only go in search of

> money, while the first Greeks traveled to the same land only to instruct themselves. [223]

Voltaire brings out the clash between an intellectualized orientalism and material colonialism. An Orientalised romanticism pervades the construction of the Orient. Colonialism in its material sence had created its own problems in Europe. The Nabob culture in England with its ostentations show was critiqued in England itself. New class divisions had emerged as the rich colonial British officials returned from the colonies in the East. The sudden affluence of this class created sociological problems in Europe.

Anquetil Du Perron in person had seen the fragment of the Zend Avesta at Oxford. It was the first glimpse of the text and it had not been translated. Du Perron mentions that he saw the four Zend leaves and was fascinated by the work. He remarks:

> In 1754, I had an occasion to see at Paris four Zend leaves copied from the Vendidad Sade', which is at Oxford. Immediately I resolved to enrich my mother country with this singular work. I ventured to entertain the idea of translating it, and of going with that view to Gujarat or Kirman to learn the ancient Persian. This work could expand the ideas which I had formed on the origin of languages, and on the change they are subject to It was moreover very proper to throw light on the antiquity of the Orientals, which would vainly search for among the Greeks or the Latins.[224]

Du Perron continues in the same strain as the orientalists after him. The search for the common source of origins had begun with comparative linguistics. He mentions that he was aware of the four Vedas which were written in Sanskrit and the large number

of Sanskrit manuscripts that were present in the La Bibliotheque du Roi; which no person understood. [225]

Du Perron applied to the La Compagnie de Indes for a tenured employment and he left for the factory at Surat. He mentions that his brother was the chief of the French factory at Surat. [226] He had contacted the Dastoors of Surat and it was three months before he received a copy of the Vendidad. [227] He was instructed to learn the alphabets by the Dastoors. [228] Du Perron also brought a second volume of the Vendidad through the efforts of M. Taillefer who was the chief of the Dutch factory.[229] Du Perron had made a comparative analysis of the two manuscript copies[230] and had tried to acquire a Pehlvi and Persean dictionary. The dictionary could not be acquired. [231] Du Perron discovered that the first volume of the Vendidad was not accurate enough. He had remonstrated with Dastoor Kaous who had procured the copy at Surat. Darab Kaous the father procured a copy which was similar to the one got by the chief of the Dutch factory M. Taillefer. Darab Kaous also procured a text of the Pehlvi Persian vocabulary, manuscripts in modern and ancient Persean and a small history in verse of the emigration of the Persians to India. [232]

Du Perron had faced a lot of hostility from Dustoor Kaous and Mancherji was a rich and influencial agent of the Dutch factory. The problem they had was regarding their participation in the translation of the Avesta. The Parsi priests were scared about losing their lives in the process. [233] There were and still is insularity regarding the Parsi religious texts and religion.

Du Perron began the translation of the Vendidad’s on 24th March, 1759 and translated both the copies by 16th June 1759. Anquetil Du Perron had informed the Governor of Pondicherry of his success. Du Perron mentions:

> The work, the first of the kind which a European had ever attempted, appeared to me to be a notable event in the history of literature. [234]

The act of knowledge formation has been illustrated on the passage above. Orientalism as a discipline was composed of clusters of texts, translations, assumptions and historical research. The Orient was constructed around this archive of material.

Du Perron [235] also procured a copy of the Nirengastan which was brought to India. Dustoor Jamasp provided the text to Du perron who also translated the Yacna of Vispered, Nyaesh Yashts and some Pehlvi collections. The Pehlvi collections contained Bundehesh, the Si-rozah, Vajerkerd and the Ravaets. These were key texts within the Zorastrian religion. Du Perron states:

> A sustained application of these gave me, at the end of some months, so true a notion of the languages and of the ancient history, religion and usages of the Parsis...... I was in a state to translate myself the few works which yet remained to be translated. [236]

The nature of the enquiry made Du perron the foremost authority on the Parsis and their religion. He also tried to acquire from the British East India Company copies of the four Vedas in Sanskrit, coins struck by Nur Iehan, the Persian translation of the Vedas made by Feize the secretary to Akbar and the brother of Abu Fazal. Du Perron mentions the amount of oriental manuscripts that he had collected.

> I possessed more than 180 MSS in nearly all the languages of India, among others two copies of the works of Zoroaster and a part of Pehlvi books. Seven dictionaries of Modern Persian; and three most famous Sanskrit dictionaries of India. I had some Hindoo characters of an

> extremely remote time in the Kenery inscriptions, some Sanskrit letters, very ancient, in the first pages of the extracts of the Vedas, some other 300 years old in the translations of some works of Zoroaster, and also some Tamoul letters a thousand years old in the characters used by the News of Cochin. I shall not talk of the seeds, flowers and leaves of India which I had collected myself at great expense; several other natural curiosities, some instruments connected with the ceremonies of the Parsi religion, and a collection, sufficiently considerable, of the coins of India.[237]

Du Perron brings out the extensive nature of his enquiries and the nature of the Orientalistic construct by the early Orientalists in India. The Orientalists marked on specific ideas and works and at the same time helped in collecting a lot of other material. Du Perron had deposited all his materials at the La Bibliotheque du Roi. [238] The nature of Orientalism always examined the inquiry in terms of conquest. Every script or text that was translated added a new dimension and space to the land that was observed Du Perron remarks:

> .... the summits of these lofty mountains will show us an immense space which yet remains to us to run over. [239]

The Orientalism engaged by the colonial powers was a joint exercise; but the colonial, imperial and the domestic aims behind them were different. The French had their own domestic arrangements behind their Oriental drive for information.

The French East India Company needed to understand India to survive the mercantile competition against the British East India Company. The French had the disadvantage of losing the territorial advantage against the British. French Orientalism in the last decade stages of the eighteenth century and the early stages of the nineteenth century was dependent upon the Oriental materials published by the

British Oriental institutions in India and England. The publications of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Royal Asiatic Society pushed Orientalistic research in France and Germany. The Asiatic Society at Bombay was also a major centre which published Oriental materials.

France led the Orientalistic research in areas of the Middle East. Napoleons invasion of Egypt and the huge growth of Egyptology along with Persian and Arabic materials had brought huge renown to the French Arabists. The race for India and its literature and history was an imperial race which was connected with the idea of rule and commerce. Orientalism as a concept had begun much earlier than the attempts made by the Asiatic Society. This can be taken through the accounts and journals of traders and sea farers from the time of Vasco Da Gama. The Asiatic Society of Bengal and other allied institutions systemised it into a discourse. Germany was one of the major Orientalising players in the nineteenth century who along with the British took part in the Orientalising exercise. Numerous readings have exonerated the German scholars of the Orientalising label. This is due to their non-participation in the imperialistic exercise in India and Asia. Post Colonial scholarship tends to confuse the role of Orientalism and the actual process of colonial hegemony which involves physical occupation of the colonial geographical space.

IV

Three major problems had affected Europe in the eighteenth century. One was the French Revolution; the second was the growing influence of the Enlightenment and the third was the growth of France under the conquests of Napoleon Bonaparte. This led to far reaching changes within the political and the intellectual climate within Europe and specifically to the present analysis on 19^{th} century German states. This section will examine in a sketch the historical and the political factors which led to the French Revolution and the later take over by Napoleon Bonaparte. It will also look into the nature of his conquests and the implications on Europe and 19^{th} century German states and the responses by the Orientalists.

The "revolutionary situation" within France had led to the "revolutionary spirit". [240] There were a rationalistic criticism and a redefinition of relationships

within classes and the Roman Catholic Church. This was best exemplified in the remarkable writings and philosophers of French thinkers and literary men. The works of Voltaire, Montesquieu, Diderot and Rousseau were widely read throughout Europe.

The State of France was the most powerful within the neighbouring group of states for its time. She had a growing international trade; a growing middle class and prosperous peasants. Twelfths of the land was worked by the peasants who owned the land they tilled.[241] Louis XVI had precipitated the revolutionary situation by badly managing the finances of the state. Constant wars had overburdened the tax payer; and this had led to the situation where fresh avenues for the generating fresh taxes had been exhausted. There was a demand for reform within the state apparatus; the church and the institution of monarchy. The people looked upon the feudal authority as the solution of their immediate problems and the future policy of the state.

Louis XVI had summoned the Estates-General which as an institution was not close to the modern day parliament but close to it. The problem that took place was inherent in the class differences within the nation. All the higher posts within the administration and the army and the controlling authority were dominated by the ruling class. The higher clergy and the nobility controlled the highest positions within the system. They also enjoyed extraordinary tax rebate privileges. The summoning of the Estates-General by Louis XVI had created a problem where the entire 'Old Order' or the system of monarchy needed to be changed. This meant the dismantling of the traditional method of governance which had held sway over the centuries the centuries. Louis XVI had tried to do this by relying upon old obsolete forms of political structures which left the middle class out. A fresh representative body was formed which was called the National Assembly and this tried to include the Third Estate.

Owing to the ineffective political will the Third Estate was moved towards the idea of seizing power. On the 14th July, 1789 the mob seized control of the Bastille and a

month later on the 4thAugust, 1789 came the famous surrender of feudal privileges. The nobles gave up their royal rights and the clergy gave up their privileges. The National Assembly comprising a greater number of the Third Estate in terms of representation moved towards the notions of the Philosophies and the ideas of the revolutionary French thinkers. On 26th August, 1789 the National Assembly brought out the "Declaration of the rights of Man and of the Citizen". This was the modification of the American Declaration of Independence and was the corner stone of the slogan of the Terror which followed. [242] Equality, Liberty and Fraternity was the basis of judging man who are "born and remain free and equal in rights", and the "aim of all political association is to preserve the natural and imprescriptible rights of man". It also included an important amendment to the American Declaration which was the right of resistance to oppression. [243] This declaration would create a sea change in feudal Europe and the notions of monarchy and feudal structures. There was a sense of alarm in the neighbouring European states which were completely feudal in nature. The notions of a free and an equal individual had shaken the roots of monarchy in Europe; leading to a rethinking within the people and its intellectuals. On the 4th August, 1790 the Gallican church gave up its right to collect taxes. Moreover the structure of the church was also in a state of a flux. Motions were made for a popular election to the clerical posts. Within the opposition to this move half of the lower clergy and all but seven of the bishops refused to endorse it. [244] The partition from the Vatican church was imminent and in the month of May, 1790 the Vatican church broke its relations with the Gallican church. Thompson mentions:

> The religious schism and the issues of foreign relations combined to effect a transition from revolution to war. This ultimately made the French Revolution an event not only in France but in European history. [245]

The impact of the religious schism also saw its mirror image in the unification of forces outside France. This was a conglomeration of the emigre forces which was to prepare for the liberation of France and the restoration of the 'old order'. The forces had collected at Brussels, Coblenz and Turin. The entire Rhineland was in a state of ferment. Louis XIV in the hopes of joining the emigre forces fled to Varennes in June, 1791 but was caught by the revolutionary forces within France. He was brought back with Marie Antoinette and put under house arrest. This brought about a round of uncertainty and consultations within the forces on the continent. Thompson states:

> The old institutions which had been overthrown in France, remained established in her continental neighbours. The influence of the Revolution was spreading, undermining the position of other rulers and implicitly challenging the survival of serfdom, feudalism, and absolutism everywhere The revolutionary ideals were too dynamic to be ignored by the established order. The result was the First Coalition of 1793, comprising Austria, Prussia, Britain, the Netherlands, and Spain.[246]

The Austrian and the Prussian rulers in the Declaration of Pillnitz mentioned the use of force and an armed intervention for the safety of the royal family and the future of France in August 1791. A year later the Duke of Brunswick the commander in chief of the Austro-Prussian forces issued the manifesto speaking about the suppression of anarchy in France and the restoration of monarchy in France. Counter to this manifesto, the revolutionaries issued a manifesto declaring their support to all revolutions and the aspirations of freedom in the countries surrounding France. The political condition of France from 1792 onwards supported both revolution and war. The newly elected assembly known as the Convention declared that September 22 was to be the first day of the republic. Louis XVI was executed on 21 January, 1793.Soon after

France went to war against Britain and Holland in February, against Spain in March and against Hungary in April.[247]

The French suffered a series of military defeats in the campaigns. An area called Vendee broke out in revolt and General Dumouriez lost at Neerwinden and the French were driven out of Holland. On 6th April, 1793 Dumouriez deserted the revolution to take the side of Austria. This broke the spirit of France leading to take over of political control by Maximilien Robespierre. The Jacobin revolution witnessed a reign of terror through him. He controlled France in a state of terror through the political use of the guillotine. Thousands of people lost their lives during his control; the majority of them being peasants. This was done in the name of the revolution and in the name of security of France. This created a great deal of opposition to the policies of Robespeirre. It appears at this time that the Jacobin revolution and the reign of terror transfers from the ruling class to the average man of the republic. This was done in the name of the security of France and the state of war within and outside the borders.

A series of French military advances by 1793 saw the breakdown of the revolt in Vendee, the British being repelled at sea, the Prussian and the Austrian forces being held back and the congest of Belgium. This gives an indication of the efficacy of the reign of terror.[248] This also increased the tensions in Europe as the fears of a radical French culture and government was getting legitimised. Europe was constantly at the risk of being swamped by the new culture which had overtaken France. The very idea of personal liberty had begun appealing to the intellectuals. The people on the other hand saw the breakdown of the monarchy as something cataclysmic. Robespeirre was executed on the guillotine on the 28th July, 1794 as a result of the excesses of the reign of terror. The ruling council members after Robespeirre were strongly represented by the middle class comprising speculators, army contractors, and land owning

peasants who had profited in the revolution. This council known as the Directory abolished the Jacobin club and the revolutionary tribunal. By the spring of 1795 the severe winter, increasing trade losses and social distress led to a series of internal rebellions. The people of Paris rebelled demanding "bread and the constitution of 1793". This rebellion was put down by the troops of General Barras. The troops were commanded by Napoleon Bonaparte. Armies commanded by him defeated the Sardinians in the Battle of Mondovi; where in the signed armistice the Sardinians ceded Nice and Savoy to France. The Austrians were defeated at Lodi on May 10th.Napaoleon took over Milan from Austria. In the Battle of Rivoli he took over the Austrian stronghold of Mantua. Austria was forced to sign the Peace of Campo Formio on 17 October, 1797 as Napoleon pushed on towards the Danube. As a result Austria ceded Belgium to France; recognized the creation of the Cisalpine Republic in northern Italy and surrendered the Ionian Islands off Greece. Austria continued to control Venice, the territories in Italy and the Adriatic. The Austrian Emperor went on to promise large districts of the Rhineland to the French in return of the isolation of its neighbour Prussia from the territorial spoils and the inclusion of parts of Bavaria and Salzburg as integral parts of Austria. This created immense tensions in the states of Rhineland. Germany as a unified political state was unformed then. Prussia was one of the major ancient monarchies. With the exception of Britain Napoleon had settled the disturbed French frontiers. In the year 1798 he departed on the expedition to Egypt. This was done to prevent the British from having any access to India and the Eastern colonies.[249] This was to lead to one of the most systematic kinds of studies of ancient Egypt and the birth of Egyptology leading to the kind of imperialistic Orientalism that Edward Said talked about. This study of Egypt by Napoleons Egyptologists brought about a renewed interest in the Orient and the reinforcement of the term the Oriental Renaissance.

Napoleon brought about a change in the internal political and the economic structures within France between 1800 and 1803. France was already divided into communes in 1790. The administration of the public debt had been unified by Joseph Cambon in 1793. The metric system had been introduced in 1793 and the beginnings of a modern technological education had begun with the foundation of the polytechnic school by Carnot in 1794. The Bank of France was founded in 1800.Napoleon had begun the process of the codifying French law. Until 1789 France had no common law. There were local laws which were connected with the feudal ceremonies and customs and ecclesiastical Canon law.[250]

David Thompson mentions:

> The code gave prominence to the principles of Roman law- a fact that made Napoleonic Code acceptable to other European countries in later years. This bias affected especially the laws of the family, marriage and divorce, the status of women, paternal authority: and property. The authority of the father over his wife, his children, and the property of the family was strengthened, as against the revolutionary tendency towards equality of persons and equal division of property The code confirmed the rights of private property and the land settlement of the revolution, and assured all who had acquired the former lands of the church and nobility that their existing rights would be preserved. Bonaparte ensured, above all, that there would no counterrevolution and this rallied middle classes and peasants alike behind the consulate.[251]

The state of France under Napoleon had achieved a state of stability. The economy had grown and the internal strife had decreased in his reign. Institutional reforms and internal reforms had begun which restored faith in the people. The public debt was at the lowest. Taxes were subsidised for the French by generating funds through

protracted negotiations, extorsions and raids on the neighbouring countries. France had also become under him a major military power. Active alliances with the states around France had been initiated. There were a series of truces. This was counterpoised by Napoleons plans for imperial expansion. The treaty of Amiens was regarded by the surrounding powers to be only a truce. Napoleon had begun extensive ship building and expansion of ports. He had also sanctioned colonial expeditions to Mauritius and Madagascar. Napoleon had imperial designs towards India. This can be noted by the extensive correspondence between Napoleon and Tipu Sultan which led to the Mysore wars.

There appeared to a complete French hegemony leading to a French Europe. Europe was already a mixture of feudalism; dynastic politics and states. Napoleon tried to bring about an economic blockade against the British within Europe. In slow and a sure manner the rest of the states within Europe had to toe the economic policies of France against a threat of invasion. Italy had been turned into an economic colony of France. The economy of Holland was completely dependent on France. Industrialization was encouraged in France and discouraged elsewhere. This created immense resentment within Europe. David Thompson remarks:

> The extant of the Empire at its greatest was made possible by the separatist and expansionist rivalries of the other main powers. Just as the early successes of the French revolutionary armies had been facilitated by the absence of any concert of Europe, so the great victories of Napoleon were won against in corrigibly unstable and unreliable coalitions. He was able to defeat his enemies one by one He was simply more successful than they in doing what they were all doing-seeking to acquire territories, extend influence, enhance prestige. British colonial expansion,

> Prussian ambitions for leadership in Northern Germany and eastern Europe, Hapsburg imperial aims in the Danube valley, Russian aspirations in Poland and Turkey ....the chief concern for Britain was to preserve some balance of power in Europe; for unification of European resources under a single hostile power would threaten her national security, end her naval superiority, and impede development of her overseas trade.[252]

Britain was constantly trying to reassert itself as the major power in Europe. This led to continuous skirmishes and battles against France. The land movement across Europe had been blocked by Napoleon. Moreover the uniform implementation of the Napoleonic code and the economic policies across French territories across Europe ensured huge commercial losses for Britain. This resulted in the formulation of civil war in Spain and the beginning of the destruction of the Napoleonic Empire. This was done on the behest and the covert support of the British. Spain had Charles IV a Bourbon as the king. The regime was corrupt and ineffective. Napoleon forced the Spanish to wage war with Portugal and had stationed the French regiments in Spain. In 1808 when Charles IV abdicated in favour of Ferdinand; Napoleon refused to recognise Ferdinand and installed his brother Joseph Bonaparte as the king. This brought about a civil war with the British actively supporting the French resistance. The war in Spain would cost Napoleon over a half a million men; who were needed elsewhere in Europe. Austria too had begun to assert its territorial independence. Napoleon was able to subdue Austria at the Battle of Wagram but the old elan of the French armies was missing. Moreover the States had begun to learn the war strategies and methods of the French. Napoleons final blunder was the attack against Russia. The attack took place as the Tsar had refused to adopt the continental system and the Napoleonic codes. He found empty Russian territories in his advance. Finally he reached Moscow to find it empty. The

Russians had retreated into the hinterland. By then the winter had set in and the Russian winter had decimated his army. Prussia too by 1813 had begun to assert itself. Frederick William II allied himself with Russia and Austria. The Forth Coalition went on war against the French. Napoleon was driven back up to the west of the Elbe. He won some important victories at Lutzen and at Bautzen against the Russians and the Prussians. In 1810 Metternich the chancellor of Austria declared a general peace conference and Napoleon signed the treaty in 1813. The talks breaking down; Austria went on war against the French. Metternich had woven together a confederation in the Rhine. This confederation inflicted one of Napoleons worst defeats in the Battle of Leipzig. Napoleon was forced to fall back to the Rhine. Arthur Wellesley of England breached the frontiers of France from Spain. The Confederation moved against the French across the Rhine. For the first time in the history of Napoleonic France the country was being invaded. Napoleon signed his abdication as the Emperor of France on the 7th April, 1814; when Paris capitulated in the attack. He renounced all claims to Europe and retired to the island of Elba. Louis XVI's brother Louis XVIII ascended the throne. In March, 1815; Napoleon escaped from Elba and landed on the shores of France. He reassembled an army but lost the decisive Battle of Waterloo. Napoleon was forced into a second abdication and permanent exile at St. Helena in June, 1815.

The effects of the French conquests and the hegemony imposed by the French had profound effects on the arts in Europe. There was a response which led to an inward gaze into the notions of culture, aesthetics and ancient history. The German revival or the Weimar classicism of the 1790's was dependent on the notion of mans progress through the positive benefits of science and a rationalistic education. This was possible through the benefits of intellectual inputs by Sir Isaac Newton and Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz. Leibniz's *Essais De Theodicee* (1710).*Theodicy: Essays on the*

Goodness of God, the Freedom of man and The origin of evil, Monadologie (1714) influenced the entire oeuvre of writers from Voltaire to Goethe. Newton had revolutionised the world of science which prompted a rationalistic and an empirical attitude. This attitude was responsible for the development of a system of discourse which precluded all that was speculative. The factual and the organisational benefits of science; with its emphasis on methodology fuelled the systematic methods of chronology and a platonic desire to go to the source of origins.

The Enlightenment in Germany was greatly influenced by Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock who revitalised the Ballad form the 'Bardiet' present in Germany. This helped in formulating German nationalism by concentrating on specific parts within German history, myths and beliefs. Gotthold Ephraim Lessing with his plays like *Miss Sara Sampson* (1755), *Emilia Galotti* (1772), *Minna von Barnhelm* (1767), *Nathan Per Weise* (1779) brought about a major genre of the Bourgeois tragedy. He stuck a middle path by not retorting to any orthodox positions or any kind of a superficial rationality. Johann Gottfried Von Herder was the central figure in the German Enlightenment. He brought about a renewed interest in the notions of ethnicity. His earliest work a journal called *Meiner Reise Im Jahr* (1769) (The Journals of My Travels in 1769) helped in formulating the trends for the later German writers with his vision of a provincial Germany moving away from its present cultural attrition; to create individual cultural positions. He reiterated the popular use of the folk forms which represented according to his the social and ethnic consciousness. Folk literature represented to him the Volksseele (ethnic soul) which was inherently present in the individual consciousness of the people. This helped the people to preserve the inherent consciousness which was under threat through the constant threats of invasions and cultural appropriations across the German borders.

The Sturm und Drang or the late enlightenment in Germany was in reaction to the Enlightenment. The Enlightenment had entered Germany through Holland .It had originally taken place in England. The German movement concentrated on the feelings of individual liberty and a search for the indigenous forms which would mirror the German aspirations. The movement took for its models the English classics and plots. This happened after the influence of the French classicism had waned. The Strum und Drag could not sustain its momentum as a steady movement but the neoclassical style and leanings saw its highest development in the works of Goethe. His *Iphigenie auf Tauris* (1787), *Egmont* (1788), *TorquatoTasso* (1790) had set the tone of the problems of individual liberty untempered by morality which was uninspired by the French revolution. *Wilhelm Meisters Lehjahre* (Wilhelm Meister's apprenticeship) his most important novel saw the development of the Bildungsroman or the study of the development of the character. One of his greatest works was *Faust* (1808-32) which brought out the meaning of activity and its connection with life and the limits of human existence.[253]

The discovery of India by the German Orientalists was late compared to the efforts of the French and the British. The discovery began after the publication of the first volume of the *Asiatick Researches* by the Asiatic society of Bengal. The volume had such an impact that pirated editions had begun appearing in England and Europe. The articles created an immense amount of interest in the intellectual climate of Europe. The establishment of the Bibliothique Nationale in Paris and the movement of Napoleons Egyptologists in the discovery of Egypt had created an interest in all things and issues connected with the Orient. Alexander Hamilton also had crystallised the movement of Sanskrit studies in Germany. He had been an East India Company official and one of the foremost Orientalists of his day. Friedrich Schlegal had studied Sanskrit

under him and Hamilton had introduced the finer nuances of Indology to him and the later German scholars. There was another reason for the German interest in Indology. The French Revolution and the Napoleon era had a tremendous impact on Europe. The French Revolution brought about an immense amount of anxiety in Europe. The biggest anxiety was the breakdown of the old order and the creation of an independent subject who was independent of the sovereign monarchy. The French revolution had created a subject who was born in equality. There was an equal distribution of property and an equal representation within the Third estate. This threatened the old order of feudalism and the age old concepts of monarchy. A far greater problem was the gradual erosion of identity. Europe was in a danger of losing its distinct divisions of ethnicity. The Napoleonic codes and the French ideas of jurisprudence had shaken Europe by its imposition in the French conquered territories in Europe. Moreover French was gradually taking over as the Lingua Franca or the language of commercial and intellectual exchange through out Europe. It was the intellectual language of Europe. French was spoken and read in most aristocratic families which considered German to be a part of the low culture. The German writers had to practice their craft either in Latin or French. There were charges of being provincial or marginalised from the main culture. The loss of the intellectual climate for the ethnic diversity of languages and literatures deeply disturbed the people of the occupied territories and the states constantly battling the French threat. This brought a renewed interest in the idea of local culture which gradually led to the formation of nationalistic discourses. It was a response to a threat which would have led to dissolution of local habits and the traditional modes of discourse. The formation of the discourse in Germany shifted to its past and there was a renewed focus and interest on the folk lore and the Germanic legends of the medieval ages. This was a form of insularity which shielded the present

from the disturbing aspects of trancultural amalgamation. The retreat into the past was a quest for an identity which could stand against the threat of political and social change in the form of invasions, changing paradigms of monarchy and religion. This renewed interest in ancient medieval Germany was transferred to Sanskrit and the development of the Aryan race constructions and ethnology by the German Indologists. The quest for Sanskrit studies and race theories became the foil to the cultural hegemony by the French and the fulcrum of Germanic identity. The notion of a common source of origins in the nineteenth century spawned a vast set of readings into Indology and philology. The nineteenth century philologists tried to expand their readings of society and culture by a look into the past and the nature of language development. Friedrick Schlegal mentions:

> As Asiatics and Europeans now constitute a great family, as Asia and Europe now constitute an inseparable whole, one should try harder to view the literature of all civilized peoples as a continuous development and as a singular, inwardly unified structure and framework, as a great totality. Hence, the one-sided and narrow perspective would disappear of its own accord, while much of what is interconnected would come to light indeed, everything would appear in new light.[254]

Schlegal views the world within the World literature notions. By ascribing a common source to all the western indologists were inherently pointing to a lack in their own readings about the past. The philologists in Europe were interested in probing and justifying their present through the past. The classical elements of the past in Europe had been well established. The research that had gone on in Europe had examined the Greek and the Roman civilizations. These studies had not been able to solve the major problem and the gap within the studies. How was one to examine pre-

history or rather the point where the common stock of culture branched out and the development of the Indo European School of languages took place. According to the growth of civilization the west had reached its pinnacle with the growth of materialism and the industrial revolution. The beginnings of the culture could be seen in the Greek and the Roman civilizations and the luxuriant beauty of the Renaissance. India had also experienced the same initial growth. This was seen in the symmetry of Sanskrit and its literature which was being examined by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Schlegal remarks on the nature of Sanskrit as a language:

> But in Sanskrit the last semblance of such a possibility [of agglutination] vanishes, and we are compelled to admit that the structure of the language is a thoroughly organic one, ramified by inflections or inner changes and variations of the root in all its significations, and not a simple mechanical compositum formed by the affixion of words and particles, while the root itself remains barren and unchanged.[255]

His mentioning of the roots of language at the end which is unchanging reflects the nature of the inquiry. Schlegal wanted to examine the source of this growth within culture. It was not apparent to the West as much of this classical prehistory which was of a Sanskrit origin was missing. The west needed to bring the entire historiography of its history into the right perspective to justify the present Imperialistic expansion. They needed to bring in a moral justification for their study. Schlegal states:

> I maintain that we cannot justifiably deny that the ancient Indians recognized the true God, since all their old writings are full of sayings and expressions that are so worthy, clear, and sublime: so very sensible, carefully discriminating, and

> meaningful, at least in so far as human language is capable of expressing god.[256]

Ancient India becomes the source of all the European growth. The only problem that remains is the present and contemporary India which had become colonised. The lack of industrial growth and modernization could be attributed to decay a kind of a moral attrition which had caused the ossification of Indian culture. Schlegal mentions:

> [T]he documents of the Indians show us the origin of the error, the first spawning of an increasingly brooding and manufacturing mind that has abandoned and forgotten the simplicity of the knowledge of god, but nonetheless. in the midst of superstition and night such splendid traces of light have remained.[257]

Schlegal appears to share the similar attitudes adopted by most orientalists India appears to be within a time frame and is frozen for interpretations. There is no reference to the Indian present. The contemporary India of Schlegals time is not progressive in his writings and is not evident. Keeping with the popular historiography of his day we only have an acknowledgement of the greatness of India which existed in the Vedic period. He keeps in league with the British orientalists who examined India in the same way.

The Sanskrit drama *Sakuntala* had been published in 1789, reprinted in 1790 (London), 1796 (London and Edinburgh) and 1805 (*Monthly Anthology of Boston).* It had been translated into German by George Forster in 1791, into French by A. Buguiere in 1803 and into Italian from the French by Luigi Doria in 1815.[258] *Sakuntala* created a sensation in Germany not only through its antiguity but also through the comparative mode of looking at the Aryan Indian Past and its connections

with ancient Greece. Augustus William Von Schlegel commented in his first lecture on Dramatic Literature.

> Among the Indians, the people from whom perhaps all the cultivation of the human race has been derived, plays were known long before they could have experienced any foreign influence. It has lately been made known in Europe that they have a rich dramatic literature, which ascends back for more than two thousand years. The only specimen of their plays (Natakas) hitherto known to us is the delightful Sakoontala, which notwithstanding the colouring of a foreign clime, bears in its general structure a striking resemblance to our romantic drama.[259]

German romanticism which goes back into the German folk literature in a quest for self identity within Napoleonic Europe; examined Sakuntala as a similar trope within Germany. The romantic settings displaced the harsh nature and the pourous boundaries which undercut the Bavarian states within Francophile Europe. *Sakuntala* appealed to the German subconscious as a construction of identity and a source of cerainity of an Aryan source of origins. Sanskrit which mediates Shakuntala mediates German self identity also.

Alexander Von Humboldt mentions on Kalidasa,

> This great poet flourished at the splendid court of Vikramaditya and was, therefore, contemporary with Virgil and Horace...[260]

Humboldt admired Kalidasa as among the ‘foremost poets of all nations’. The mystical strain, the language and the tenderness of poetry appealed to this transitional German position which moves away from classicism to the beginnings of German nationalism. Goethe through his ideas of world literature and the role of the native

literature brought out a theoretical praxis of comparison which is still the corner stones of comparative studies today. Goethe's famous lines on *Sakuntala* have been extensively quoted, he states:

> 'Willist du die Bluthe des fruhen, die Fruchte des Spateren Iahres,
> Willst die was reizt and en tzuckt, willst due was sattigt und nahrt,
> Willst du den Himmel, die Erde, mit einem Namen begreifen:
> Nern'ich, Sakoontala, Dich und so ist Alles gesagt'.
> Would'st thou the young year's blossoms and the fruits of its decline,
> And all by which the soul is charmed, enraptured, feasted, fed?
> Would'st thou the Earth and Heaven itself in one sole name combine?
> I name thee, O Sakoontala! and all at once is said: [261]

Goethe turns *Sakuntala* into a grand narrative of aesthetic progress and at the same time points to the privileged space which is occupied by Sanskrit. The established European literary canon gets orientalised with the entry of the classical Indian drama.

Orientalism constructed the East and in the process reconstructed the West. The second renaissance mentioned by Raymond Schwab brought about an inverted look at the Euyropean self when confronted by the literary East. The reconstruction of the West involved incorporating the East and its culture and then modifying it to address the inherent lack within its own discourse. The search for the common source of origins and the nature of the race studies by James Cowler Prichard and by Max Muller later point to the appropriation of the discourse. Schlegal mentioned,

> And if a too one-sided and nearly playful pre-occupation with the Greeks has estranged the spirit of the last century for too much from former earnestness or even from the source of all higher truth, then the deeper we delve into this completely new knowledge and contemplation of Oriental antiquity, the more so might it guide us back to the recognition of the divine and to that rigour of conviction, which first bestowed light and life on all art and all knowledge.[262]

The extraordinary political situation had deep socio-cultural effects within Germany and its orientalising activities. The German Orientalists occupy a different space on account of their non-participation within Orientalism. Orientalism as a discipline though connected with colonialism could function independently. Germany constructed India and reconstructed itself in the same manner as the British, the French and the Portuguese did.

Notes

[1] Lord Teignmouth, *Memoirs of the life, Writings and Correspondence of Sir William Jones* (London: 1884) 167.

[2] Sir William Jones, *Grammar of the Persian Language* (London: 1771) 165.

[3] Samuel Johnson, *The Letters of Samuel Johnson*, ed. R.W. Chapman, Vol.1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952).

[4] Sir Charles Wilkins, *Bhagavad Gita or Dialogues of Kreeshna and Arjoon in Eighteen Lectures* (London: 1785) 13.

[5] Wintermitz M, *A history of Indian Literature*, Vol.1 (Calcutta: Calcutta U.P., 1927) 10.

[6] Janardhan Singh, *Sir William Jones: His Mind and Art* (New Delhi: S. Chand and Co. Ltd. 1982) 65.

[7] Lord Teignmouth, *Memoirs of the life, Writings and Correspondence of Sir William Jones*, Vol.I (London: 1884) 265. There are 13 volumes in all. The 1st & 2nd volumes are mentioned as Memoirs and the rest as Works.

[8] Lord Teignmouth, 343.

[9] Lord Teignmouth, 270-271.

[10] Lord Teignmouth, 283.

[11] Lord Teignmouth, 264.

[12] Lord Teignmouth, Vol.II, 87-88.

[13] Sir William Jones, *The Works of Sir William Jones*, ed. Lord Teignmouth, Vol.III (London: 1807) 20.

[14] Lord Teignmouth, 20.

[15] A.J.Arberry, *Oriental Essays* (London: n.p., 1960) 65.

[16] Lord Teignmouth, *Memoirs of the Life, Writings and Correspondence of Sir William Jones*, Vol.I (London: 1884) 167.

[17] S.N.Mukherjee, *Sir William Jones: A Study in Eighteenth Century British attitudes to India.* (London: Cambridge U.P., 1968) 139.

[18] Marshall P.J., *The British Discovery of Hinduism in the Eighteenth Century:* (London: Cambridge, U.P., 1970) 189.

[19] *Centenary Review of the Asiatic Society of Bengal: From 1784 to 1883.* (Calcutta: 1885) 12.

Also see *Asiatick Researches,* Vol.II, 187.

[20] *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, February 15th, 1784. Also see *Asiatick Researches*, Vol.II, 167.

[21] *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, February 15th, 1787. Also see *Asiatick Resesarches,* Vol.II, 1-17.

[22] *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* February 25th, 1790. Also see *Asiatick Researches,* Vol.II, 365-368.

[23] *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* February 24th, 1791. Also see *Asiatick Researches,* Vol.III, 1-16.

[24] *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* February 28th, 1793. Also see *Asiatick Researches,* Vol.IV, 165-180.

[25] *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* January 2nd, 1794. Also see *Asiatick Researches,* Vol.IV, 165-180.

[26] *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* Feb. 15th, 1784. Also see *Asiatick Researches,* Vol.II, 167.

Also see *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society,* ed. Sibadas Chaudhuri, Vol.1 (Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1980) 101-103.

[27] *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* February 15th, 1784. Also see *Asiatick Researches, Vol.II*, 167.

[28] *Proceedings,*_February 15th, 1784. Also see *Asiatick Researches,* Vol.II, 167.

[29] *Proceedings,* February 15th, 1784. Also see *Asiatick Researches,* Vol.II, 167.

[30] *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, February* 15th, 1787. Also see *Asiatick Researches,* Vol.II, 1-17.

[31] *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, February,* 25th, 1790. Also see *Asiatick Researches,* Vol.III, 365-381.

[32] *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, February* 24th, 1791. Also see *Asiatick Researches,* Vol.III, 1-16.

[33] *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, February* 23rd, 1792. Also see *Asiatick Researches,* Vol.III, 479-492.

[34] *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, February* 23rd, 1794. Also see *Asiatick Researches,* Vol.IV, 165-180.

[35] *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, May* 22nd, 1794. Also see *Asiatick Researches,* Vol.IV, 181-194.

[36] Lord Teignmouth, *Memoirs of the life, writings and correspondence of Sir William Jones,* Vol. I (London: 1884) 167.

[37] *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, May* 22nd, 1794. Also see *Asiatick Researches,* Vol.IV, 293-240.

[38] *Proceedings,* May 22nd, 1794.

[39] *Asiatick Researches,* Vol.VI, 1799.

[40] *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* July 29th, 1825.

[41] Tharkappan Nair, *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society 1833-1841,* Vol.2, (Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1995) 1622-1623.

See (D 279), A.R. 279 (Sr. No. 10 of 1825), Documents 1817-1832, July 29th, 1825, pp.1622-1623.

[42] Nair, 1676-1678. See D (353), Enclosure to A.R. 356 (Sr. No.3 of 1827) 1676-78.

[43] Nair, 1689-1690. See D (370), A.R. 372 (Sr. No.19 of 1827) 1689-1690.

[44] Nair, 1693. See D (374), A.R. 375 (Sr. No.22 of 1827) 1693.

[45] Nair, 1723-1724. See D (407), Enclosure 4 to A.R. 403, 1723-1724.

[46] Nair, 1832-1833. See D (507) A.R. 502 (Sr. No.13 of 1829), 1832-1833.

[47] *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* February 2nd, 1814.

[48] *Proceedings of the Asiatic society of Bengal,* October 7th, 1807.

[49] William Carey, *Ramayana* (Serampore: Mission Press, n.d.) 234.

[50] Edward Said, Orientalism (Penguin: New Delhi 2001) 4.

[51] *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol.6, 710-711.

[52] William Dalrymple, *The White Mughals* (New Delhi: Penguin, 2002).

[53] Janardhan Singh, *Sir William Jones: His Mind and Art* (New Delhi: S. Chand & Co. Ltd. 1982) 285.

[54] Janardhan, 285.

[55] Thomas R. Trautmann, *Aryans and British India* (New Delhi: Yoda Press, 2004) 15.

[56] Trautmann, 15.

[57] David Koph, *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance: The dynamics of Indian modernization 1773-1835* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969) 275.

[58] O.P.Kejariwal, *The Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Discovery of India's Past 1784-1838 (*Delhi: O.U.P. 1988).

[59] Kejariwal, 18.

[60] Kejariwal, 19.

[61] Kejariwal, 19.

[62] Alexander Dow, *History of Hindostan*, Vol.3, (London, 1770).

[63] Dow, vii.

[64] O.P. Kejariwal, *The Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Discovery of India's Past 1784-1838* (Delhi: OUP, 1988) 21.

[65] Abu'l Fazl, *Ayeen Akberry, or, The Institutes of the Emperor Akbar* 3, Vols. trans. Francis Gladwin (Calcutta: n.p., 1783-86).

[66] O.P.Kejariwal, *The Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Discovery of India's Past 1784-1838 (*Delhi: OUP) 21.

[67] Sir Charles Wilkins, *Bhagavad Gita or dialogues of Kreeshna and Arjoon in Eighteen Lectures (*London: 1785).

[68] Nathaniel B. Halhed, *A Grammar of the Bengal Language.* Fascimile reprint (1778; England: The Scolar Press, 1969).

[69] Sir Charles Wilkins, Preface, *Bhagavad Gita or dialogues of Kreeshna and Arjoon in Eighteen Lectures* (London: 1785) iii.

[70] *Asiatick Researches, Vol.1*, 1-47.

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Chapter-3

Translating India

I

Translation is a political activity, which translates across cultures, and it need not be imperialistic in nature; instead it provides an insight into culture and the modes of the development of cultures. Translations as a political activity involves assuming positions that interpret and decide the transmission of culture into various norms and formats. The assuming of position involves the idea of the need for translation and the modes by which the translation is achieved.

Translation is not restricted to texts and the transfer of information or transcreation. In this sense translation is not restricted to language. It involves a wider scheme that takes into account a vast number of factors that could be historical, political, social or literary practices. This chapter examines the idea of translation as the means and the modes of inquiry which were initiated by the East India Company and the British Government on India in the nineteenth century.

The translation of India occurred through the efforts of individual and institutions which began a systematic mapping of India's history and social practices. On one hand there had been a systematic look at the literacy history and historiography of India through the study of Sanskrit and on the other side of the spectrum, there had been an equal emphasis on the native of physical sciences in India. The physical sciences involved mapping the terrain, geographical features and surveys.The quest for translation also involved preservation and the rise of curative sciences and museums. The museums became the site of positing the cultural, social and the physical bricolage of a nation. The study of literacy texts, history and the

conflicting positions of historiography brought about sweeping changes in the field of education and the modes of training of candidates in the and those in the fields of administration. This chapter will examine the modes and the means for the translation of India in a wider sence, involving the role of education, museums surveys and the gazetteers of India.This chapter examines the growth and the formation of the Imperial gazetteers, the growth of the Indian Museum, the formation of the Archeological Survey of India and the formation of historiography and Orientalism at the College of Fort William.

The codification of India can be traced through the history of the gazetteers in India. The gazetteers were a series of publications brought out by the British Government in India which examined the country from three vantage points; namely the country, the province and the districts. The Directors of the East India Company had a constant problem of administering the fortune of the company in India. The problems involved the distance and communications. The East India Company after the Battle of Plassey had achieved a position of strength by acquiring huge tracts of territory. The administration of this territory was difficult with the paucity of information on the land and the nature of the customs of the people. Economics played a vital role due to the mercantile nature of the East India Company. The presence of the British in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was capitalistic. There was a need of a compact code or volumes which could be perused by the officials in India and outside India. These volumes would contain all the information pertaining to the history, physical, geography, the people, customs and agricultural produce. The aim of the East India Company was to translate India into a series of volumes which could be carried transcontinently and interpreted in the same sense. The conditions which had changed after the Battle of Plassey necessitated methods

and modes of understanding India. Keeping this idea in mind the Imperial Gazetteer of India took shape which involved provincial gazetteers, district gazetteers, manuals of states, statistical accounts, surveys, settlement reports and dictionaries.

The East India Company had obtained a grant of 24 parganas after the Battle of Plassey. The Company had secured a grant on the districts of Burdwan, Midnapur and Chittagong in 1760. The primary role of the Company here was the collection of revenue and taxes. The Company also faced the problems of safety and regulations in communications. Proper roads and safe routes were needed for the safety of the revenue collection, correspondence and company officials. The deteriorating Mughal rule had created unsettled political conditions in India. Hence there was an imperative need for a proper, correct and an accurate topographical knowledge of the country.[1]

Robert Clive had initiated the movement by measuring the land from the Great Lakes eastword of Calcutta till Cupee in the South. In 1761-62 C.E. Robert Barker and Hugh Cameron had surveyed the Sunderban area, the coastlines, creeks, rivers and islands. This survey was continued by Bartolomew Plaisted who passed away in 1767 C.E. The survey of the inland creeks and coastlines was continued by John Ritchie. In 1767 C.E. Captain Lewis De Gloss was ordered to survey Midnapur and the Burdwan provinces.[2]

The 1764 C.E. Battle of Buxar created further problems for the British East India Company. The administration territory had increased and it extended from Balasore to Chota Nagpur and Ramgarh. A survey was initiated for the reconnaissance of roads. Captain De Gloss and Captain Martin were put in charge.The Ganges as a major river for upcountry transportation was surveyed by James Rennell.[3] James Rennel on Robert Orme’s request had prepared a map of Bengal and by 1773 C.E. had finished the surveys of the Company’s possessions in Bengal, Bihar, Oudh

Frontier, Chotta Nagpur and the forests of Orissa. Rennell also surveyed the Brahmaputra upto Golpara at the Assam border and he sent surveyors to Bengal, Coochbehar, Palaman and the Santal areas. Colonel Upton surveyed the route to Poona in 1775 and he also surveyed the Madras Presidency; especially the areas of Trichinopaly, Tinnevelly and Madurai. He collected the information of these districts by surveying the military routes.[4]

The Sircars north of the Krishna River had been surveyed for geographical and topographical information in 1775 C.E. Revenue information was also gathered here.[5] The First Maratha War was important as the coasts were surveyed by General Goddard.[6] He had marched from Culpee to Surat in 1799 C.E. The information gathered on revenue sources and topography had been an immense help to the Bombay Government.[7] This route was further explored by Arthur Cladwell and Duncan Stewart. The Mysore War with Hyder Ali in 1780; was the beginning of the British dominions in the South of India. The British army had suffered a series of disasters in the campaign. General Munro and Colonel Bailliee had faced military reverses. Governer General Hastings had sent Sir Eyre Coote by sea and Colonel Pearse by land to consolidate the situation. A great deal of information about the topography of the south was collected then. Colonel Mackenzie further consolidated the topographical data base later. Colonel Pearse also surveyed Madras and Bengal for a period of four years between 1781-85 C.E.[8]

The Third Mysore War between 1790-92 led to the exploration of Mysore. The area was systematically surveyed by Mackenzie, Kyd, Colebrooke, Beaston and Allan.[9] Mackenzie's studies of Mysore are particularly significant.[10] Malwa, Delhi and the Mathura areas were surveyed by Reynolds on a political Mission.[11] Emmitt of the Bombay infantry surveyed in a continuous line the route from Seringapatnam to

Poona in 1795 C.E. The route included the junction of the Tungabhadra river with the Krishna and extended westwards through Dharwar in Karnataka till the coast at Goa.[12] Reynolds also surveyed a new line from Hyderabad to Agra and the other surveyors covered the ghats and the districts of Coorg, Malabar and Cannanore, Kirkpatrick on a mission to Nepal surveyed the lower Himalayas and the Terai region.[13] Thomas Wood surveyed Assam and the Brahmaputra as far as the Dikko river below Sibsagar.[14] H.T. Colebrooke the Surveyor General had surveyed the lower Ganges from Hardwar to Kanpur between 1796-98.[15] James Hoare surveyed the Yamuna from Allahabad to Delhi in 1794 C.E.[16] James Blunt surveyed central India covering the rivers Son, Mahanadi, Ban Ganga and the Godavari.

The geographical surveys were meant for the consolidation and the identification of revenue sources, transportation and communication routes. The mercantile nature of the British East India Company made them revenue collectors before they became a political power. The land and the revenue were connected with local information and the British lacked it. The British came to possess huge territories after the Battle of Plassey in 1757 C.E. The negotiations between Mir Jaffer and Frankland saw the British lacking information on effective land management. They lacked information on the details of the bighas of land, accounts of the different paraganas, possible revenue estimates and the mapping of idle land for revenue. The East India Company realized this and initially leased out the land to prevent possible losses. They had no knowledge of the rural economy. As a result the first exclusive revenue surveys were authorised. Cameron authorised 'The Survey and the Measurement of several paraganas'. He authorised the surveys and the registration of villages, tenants and other relevant information. This was the seed of the beginnings of the series of Imperial Gazetteers. The grant of the Diwani of Bengal had led to

abuses. The British recognized their position of actual governance and administrative postings of English supervisors of Revenue, were initiated by them. Bengal was divided into blocks of 20 to 30 districts and each had a revenue supervisor.

The Revenue surveys also saw the beginnings of the District Surveys in India; beginning with the East India Company provinces by 1970. Micheal Topping was appointed a surveyor in 1785 C.E. and he later became the Company Astronomer, Marine Surveyor and a Geographical Surveyor.[17] One of the main duties of the surveyor was to suggest measures for the development of the districts. The East India Company had realized that topographical information was useful for revenue studies. Topping proposed the post of Assistant Revenue Surveyors under District Officers; whose primary duties were to prepare topographical maps; and the classification of information regarding cultivation and irrigation. The surveys were an integral feature of British India. Captain Alexander Reid was appointed the Superintendent of Revenue and he made a revenue survey of two districts ceded by Tipu Sultan.[18] The study gave a tabular information of matters concerning revenue, the total revenue of the tahsildari, boundaries of land, villages, natural borders and area mappings. John Mather a professional surveyor mapped out Baramahal and Salem districts under Captain Reid. The fall of Seringapatnam and the death of Tipu Sultan on the 4th, May 1799 opened out the Mysore Plateau above the Western Ghats for revenue exploration. On the 5th, January 1800 Colonel Mackenzie unveiled his plans for the Mysore Survey. Colonel Mackenzie examined the frontiers and the exterior boundaries of Mysore. Dr. Leyden examined the natural history of the area in the survey. Mackenzie by 1815 C.E. had surveyed Baramahal, Mysore, Canara, Goa, Suttee, Manara, Soonda, Bilghi and the ceded districts of Mysore. The southward

thrust included Tinnevelly, Travancore, Madura, Sevaganga, Ramnad, Dindugul, Tanjore, Trichnopoly, Coimbature and Todiman's country.

'The Westward thrust included Malabar, Canara, Soonda, Bilghi, Coorg, Wynaad, Goa, Maratha districts of Sattara and Manara. The Central thrust included the districts of Arcot, Guntoor, Northern Circars, Venkatgherry, Calestry, Vellore, Palnaad, Baramal the ceded districts and the Mysore Rajah's Company.[19] The Bengal permanent settlement had not surveyed the Sunderbans extensively and William Morrison was appointed to survey the area in 1811. In 1814 C.E. Chepe surveyed Chittagong. The Nawab of Oudh had ceded territory in the 1801 C.E. treaty and Thomaswood surveyed Gorakhpur, Lower Doabs and Rohilkhand. H.T. Colebrooke surveyed in 1807-1808 the entire Gangetic doab. Lieutnant W.S. Webb surveyed the upper provinces passing Jaunpur, Azamgarh, Gorakhpur and the Eastern districts. Modgson surveyed Dehradun and the Himalayan region which resulted in the growth of Buddhist studies. In 1813 C.E. Captain Raper surveyed Chota Nagpur and Charles Ranken surveyed Mirzapur. Fresh surveys were initiated by Sir Charles Metcalf during 1807-8 C.E. Maharaja Sindhya of Gawlior had ceded the land between the Ganga and the Yamuna, the upper Doabs and the districts of Broach and Surat. The Holkars of Indore ceded territories on the 7th, January 1806 north of the Chambal. The Marathas had at this time withdrawn from Gurgaon, Karnal, Rohtak and Misser. Under this treaty Alexander Gerard under the authorization of Sir Metcalf surveyed Saranhpur in 1814 C.E. and Francis White surveyed the Sikh territories upto Karnal.

The materials gathered by the surveys were unwieldy. A systematic classification and models were needed which would give an essay access and administrative models were needed for the maintenance and the administration of the districts. The position of the British then was unique. The East India Company was

transforming from a mercantile orientation to a state of governance. There was a need to bring about standardised systems and modes for the management of the districts, revenues and the people. The East India Company moreover was managed by the Court of Directors in England. There was a need for suitable publications which could condense India into a series of tabular information for future mercantile prospects in England. The growth of the Imperial Gazetteers needs to be examined keeping the capitalistic mercantile project on one hand and the practical administration of the land in India on the other.

In 1870 C.E. Sir William Hunter outlined *"A Plan for an Imperial Gazetteer in India"*. The plan examined the past failures in the assessment of territories and also looked at the inadequacy of the earlier gazetteers. The first gazetteer was brought out in two volumes in 1820 C.E. by Walter Hamilton. It dealt with Hindustan and the adjacent countries. The East India Gazetteer was brought out in 1828 C.E. Edward Thornton brought out a gazetteer in four volumes in 1854 C.E. It was followed by one more in 1857 C.E. and was revised in 1862 C.E. Outlining the plan for a new gazetteer; Sir William Hunter mentions:

> For an alphabetic synopsis of a country presupposes the existence of a systematic account of it, based upon its geography or political divisions and compiled part by part with minute local care. Thus the gazetteers of Europe are based upon geographical and statistical accounts of the various European states and the gazetteers of England and Scotland are derived chiefly from parish returns and county histories. In the absence of these systematic materials, Indian Gazetteers writers have had to depend upon chance notices by travellers and historians, or such official accounts as they could find in the records of India house.[20]

The earlier gazetteers were largely reproduced from traveller accounts and occasional personal forays. There was a lack of systematic movement of seconds which would map the districts. Moreover the rapidly changing fortunes of The East India Company in the nineteenth century made a large part of the earlier observations redundant. The increase in territory brought about a high lacuna in the administrative revenue and social information of the territories. Sir William Hunter remarks:

> The truth is that during the 20 years that have elapsed since it was written a new history has been enacted in India, a new political geography has been formed, vast tracts of country have been surveyed, the geological department has been at work and it would be impossible to make Thornton's Gazetteer a 'faithful' exposition of our present knowledge of the country, without rewriting the whole book.[21]

Hunter evaluates the earlier gazetteers and mentions that three distinct efforts were made in their production. All the three attempts failed in the production of the gazetteers. In the first attempt the alphabetical compilation failed because the preliminary material did not exist for a successful undertaking of this sort. In the second attempt scientific investigations such as trigonometrical, topographical and geographical surveys had been carried out. Along with this revenue surveys and settlement operations were also carried out. Hunter points out that the statistical operations by Buchanan and the government topographical surveys were isolated. Hunter mentions that the efforts were rendered obsolete as the system for the dissemination of the results were not in place. The third failure was attributed to excessive concentration and defective distribution of work.

Outlining the plan of the gazetteer Hunter mentions that the Directors at home and the employees in India needed a common source of accessible information on the

country. The changes and the transfer of power of the East India Company to the British crown after 1857 increased the need for reliable sources of information. The M.P.'s in England were not acquainted with India and adverse and an incorrect public opinion was being formed on India in England. Moreover there was also an increased inflow of British capital into India and a reliable source book was needed by the business men and British officials in England. The commercial projects that would attract business in India were forming, railroads, railway projects, roads and irrigation Hunter states:

> By a true account of any Indian district will prove that a civilized administration is not only easier on the people, but that it pays better, and yields a lively return upon the money in constructing its material framework.... the gazetteer of India with its adequate appreciation of its commercial capability would form an epoch in the removal of the obstacles which still exist between English Capital and Indian enterprise.[22]

Visualising the commercial aspect Hunter examines the profitability of conquest versus commercial enterprise. Hunter remarks:

> Will form a monument of the administration under which it may be composed, more profitable than the conquest of a, new province and as lasting as the British rule itself.[23]

Sir William Hunter's *Plan* was accepted by Lord Mayo in 1869 C.E. and he was appointed the Director General of Statistics. Hunter then wrote and compiled the provincial gazetteer of Bengal after visiting all the districts. Hunter worked and published a number of gazetteers.[24]

The 1877 despatch of the Secretary of State defined the scope of the Imperial Gazetteer. It states:

> The Imperial gazetteer will be the condensation and fruit of a series of statistical surveys of each of the administrative or political divisions of India, specially and minutely compiled within the moderate limits of time and it will thus occupy a very different position from all the previous essays in this direction in which the materials were levied in part from data which was frequently far from contemporaneous and often no better than chance record of travellers.[25]

Hunter brought out a single volume edition of the *Indian Empire* in 1882. It covered its history, peoples and products. Hunter mentions in the preface:

> The present book distills into one volume the essence of the Imperial Gazetteer and certain of my previous works. It consists in the main of my article India in the Gazetteer but of that article carefully revised, remodelled into chapters, and brought more nearly upto date The Imperial Gazetteer was necessarily based upon the Indian census of 1871. In the following pages I have incorporated the general results, so far as they are yet available, of the census of 1881. In this and in other respects, I have endeavoured to reach a higher standard of convenience in arrangement and of completeness of detail, than it was in my power to attain to, at the time when I compiled, chiefly from my previous works, the article India for the Imperial Gazetteer.[26]

The Indian Empire edition came out after the Imperial Gazetteer. It was for the sake of convenience. The Imperial Gazetteer was too bulky and the *Indian Empire* examined India in a totality of History, Administration, Economics and Geography.

The revision of the Imperial Gazetteer plan took place under Lord Curzon's administration. The Imperial Gazetteer then was last revised in 1885-7. There were a number of problems in the Imperial Gazetteers of William Hunter. Hunter's

Gazetteers were not strong in Botany and Archeology. S.B. Chaudhuri mentions that the accounts of rivers, climate, crops, exports, administration, revenue expenditure, education, newspapers and the police presence was not adequately represented. Moreover surveys provided detailed accounts of Orissa, Bihar, Chitagong, Tippera and Chota Nagpur along with the surveys carried out by the Director of Land Records which contained huge amounts of information about crops and methods of cultivation. Hunter's Gazetteers only gave a summary of the statistical accounts.[27] Hence Lord Curzon proposed a change and a revision in the Gazetteers. In a letter to George Francis Hamilton the Secretary of state to India; Curzon mentions:

> The late Sir William Hunter submitted proposals in August 1899, for the revision of the Gazetteer in connection with the approaching census, which had been favourably entertained by us and we had contemplated entrusting the work of revision to him, but his death had necessarily altered our plans.
>
> We are of the opinion that the time has come when the Imperial Gazetteer should be revised. The Statistics of population therein given dates back as far as 1881, and most of the figures relating to other matters such as trade, shipping, manufactures, wages and prices, railways, canals and general administration are equally obsolete. Apart from statistical questions, the provinces of upper Burma and Baluchistan have since been added to the Empire; various important legislative and administrative changes have taken place; knowledge had advanced on many lines of research and has brought to light imperfections in the original work, so that the Gazetteer now conveys an incomplete and misleading impression of India as it is now is.[28]

Curzon laid a special emphasis on Indian history and culture. He proposed breaking up The Indian Empire a single volume gazetteer by William Hunter into four district

gazetteers. The first volume would be titled Descriptive, the second as Administrative, the third as History and the fourth as Architecture, Archeology as Epigraphy. Curzon remarks:

> We have also, on further consideration found it desirable to modify in some material respects our scheme for the revision of Volume VI India The basis from which the revision of this volume must obviously start is the last (third) edition of the late Sir William Hunter's Indian Empire, which is a reproduction of Volume VI of the Gazetteer, revised to some extent, but not completely, upto 1897. Although the Indian Empire may fairly be described as the fullest account of India as a whole that has yet been published, it is, in our opinion, imperfect in many respects, and we consider that it requires not only revision but expansion in a number of directions. The volume now contains 853 pages and the additional matter which we regard as indispensable would increase its bulk to such an extent that it must in any case be divided into two or more volumes or parts. We propose accordingly to extend its scope materially, and to divide it into four parts. Part I – descriptive, Part-II – Administrative, Part-III – History and Part-IV – Architecture Archeology and Epigraphy..... We propose that they should be published independently of the Gazetteer under the title The Indian Empire.[29]

Curzon proposed the preparation of Volume IV under the Director General of Archeology and the section of Epigraphy under Dr. Fleet of the Bombay Civil Service. The Volume III of History was to be prepared by Macdonell, Hoernle and Forrest. Dr. Grierson was to prepare the chapter on languages in the Volume I on Description. Hamilton proposed a more organic division as Volume-I : Descriptive, Volume-II : Historical, Volume-III : Economic and Volume-IV : Administrative. The

entire account would be edited by H.H.Risley and J.S.Cotton.[30] The plan for the Imperial Gazetteer involved and envisaged four volumes which would take India as a whole and the other volumes would be provincial gazetteers and district Gazetteers.

H.H.Risley the officiating Secretary to the Government of India had raised his objections to the alphabetic arrangement of the previous gazetteers. Subjects were often scattered across thirteen volumes which made it unwieldy.[31] He proposed increasing the information on the districts from six pages previously to fifty pages.[32] He further suggested bringing out District gazetteers in two volumes A and B. Volume A was to contain all the information which was static in nature; namely; the history, physical features, geology, flora and fluna, castes, customs, religion and languages. Volume B would hold the entire statistical information on the above subjects. The Volume B would be rewritten and revised every census.[33]

Lord Curzon on receiving this proposal commented on the ambitious plan for the district gazetteers. He mentions:

> We propose to introduce a large and important change in the form of the Imperial Gazetteer. Our attention has been drawn to the fact that from the point of view both of the public and the administrative official, the alphabetical system on which the gazetteer has been compiled is cumbrous and inconvenient. Unless the information required is of the simplest character and relates only to a single place or a single subject, any one who uses the book must turn to a number of different volumes in order to complete his researches.[34]

Risley as the officiating Secretary to the Government of India and Hamilton as the Secretary to the Government of India brought out the final plan to the district gazetteers under major reservations.[35] Finally the plan of constituting District

Gazetteers was agreed to by the officiating bearers of the Government of India.[36] According to the plan four new Imperial Gazetteers on India would constitute the whole. The old provincial gazetteers would remain as an introduction to the province and the new District Gazetteers would particularise it.

The gazetteers were the blue prints for the management of India. Volumes presupposed all available knowledge on India in all disciplines and which was constantly revised in accordance with the latest census. The direct participation within the Indian experience was unnecessary and one could comment, authorise, explicate, decide or denigrate India merely through reading the volumes. Numerous accounts of India have been handled by people who never visited India; notably James Mill and Max Mueller. Orientalism is a discipline which renders direct experience unnecessary in favour of an archive. The codification construction and the reconstruction of information constantly slides and fresh premutations are constructed to present different imperial facets. The early Orientalists of the Asiatic Society were rooted with their direct participatory presence. The German Orientalists on the other hand were never directly present but indirectly so through the archives. The early travel accounts, research journals and the gazetteers provided models for the possible construction and the reconstruction of India.

The volumes bring out the idea of translation where the imperial position decided the act of constructing India. The Imperial Gazetteers were instrumental in codifing India and distilling it into handy statistical information. The construction reduced India into tabular information; which could be observed, commented on or reduced to a series of statistics. The gazetteers helped in cementing and constituting the imperial presence in terms of administration. The Imperial gazetteers were circulated as government publications in England and the other English colonies. This

constructed the image of a ‘Virtual India’. This image of India in many ways did not correspond to the reality that was India. The ‘Virtual India’ existed as volumes of gazetteers to be perused either for business or capitalistic enterprises or idle curiosity. The gazetteers excluded the direct presence of the readers in India. This was deemed unnecessary as The Imperial Gazetteers could be compared to the work of Napoleon’s Egyptologists who are examined by Edward Said in *Orientalism*. They became windows to India upto the smallest detail. The reduction to statistical data is huge in its enterprise and scope. Much of the information excluding the statistical data which is ninety seven years old till date still holds in terms of details. The Orientalistic translation projects of the Asiatic society were the beginning of the codification projects in India and the Imperial Gazettes were the logical culmination of the entire exercise. Both the projects had administrative and imperial designs underlying it which translated India into a ‘Virtual India’ or an ‘Orientalised India’. The idea of translating a country is connected to the idea of territory. The idea of territory embodies the land, the topography, the art of cartography, the study of its history, culture and the people. Territory also embodies the idea of ownership and its administration. Territory also comprises the nature of the land, its soil and various geographical features. The land under the rubrick of ownership includes the wars and the reatoric of conquest that accompanies it. India as an imperial colony of Great Britain was aspected in books, articles and travelogues. India was aspected in information ranging from its flora and fauna, its temples, mosques, stupus, sculpture, art, its people, cities and villages. The census operations examined the administrative issues, the gazetteers classified information, cartography and surveys mapped territory and Museums showcased the territories. The idea of territory requires an explanation,

the nature of its occupation by the coloniser and a componential break up of the information of the territory.

II

The Indian Museum collection was a part of the Asiatic Society in the initial period from 1884 to 1866. The collections of the Asiatic Society were merged into a public collection in the form of a public museum in 1866 C.E. The Asiatic Museum took shape through the efforts of Nathaniel Wallich who had been the surgeon of the Dutch settlement at Serampore. The East India Company had taken control of Serampore in 1813 C.E. He had in a letter suggested the establishment of a museum to the Asiatic Society. Nathaniel Wallich states:

> The far greater portion of these have hitherto escaped the notice of naturalists or has been imperfectly, or what is much worst, erroneously described. The deplorable neglect to which the natural history of this country has been exposed is very striking and must principally be attributed to total want in India of.... a public museum.[37]

The proposal by Wallich was accepted by the committee of papers. The proceedings of the committee mention:

> A collection of the substances which are the objects of science, and of those reliques which illustrate ancient times and manners.... was one of the first objects of the Asiatic Society, and any person engaged in the study of the history and languages of this country or in the investigations of its natural productions must have had frequent cause for regretting that such a purpose should have been hitherto so very incompletely carried into effect....The Asiatic Society is now called upon to adopt active measures for remedying this deficiency, and collecting from the abundant matter, which India offers, a museum that shall be servicable to history and science.[38]

The resolution contained an objective which captured India through its objects and antiquities. The resolution decided the future growth of the Indian Museum and the show casing of India. The resolution mentions:

> Resolved accordingly that the Asiatic Society determine upon forming a museum for the reception of all articles that may tend to illustrate oriental manners and history, or to elucidate the peculiarities of art and nature in the east.
> That this intention be made known to the public, and that contributions be solicited of the undermentioned nature:
> Inscriptions on stone or brass.
> Ancient Monuments, Mohammedan or Hindu.
> Figures of Hindu deities.
> Ancient coins.
> Instruments of war peculiar to the East.
> Instruments of music.
> Implements of native art and manufacture.
> Animals peculiar to India.
> Skeletons or particular bones of animals peculiar to India.
> Birds peculiar to India stuffed or preserved.
> Dried plants, fruits etc.
> Mineral or vegetable preparation. Peculiar to Eastern pharmacy.
> Ores of metals.
> Natural alloys of metals.
> Minerals of every description.[39]

The growth of the museum was phenomenal with the growth of major collections. Individual collections were donated by Colonel Stewart, Dr. Tytter, General Mackenzie, Mr. Brian Hodgson, Captain Dillon and Babu Ram Kamal Sen.[40] James Princep the Secretary of the Asiatic Society in a letter to the Secretary of the

Government, General Department had expressed the Societies complete support for the project.[41]

The Governor General of India in Council on the 23rd March, 1866 passed the act to provide for the establishment of a public museum at Calcutta. The act mentions the objectives of the museum for housing collections.

> Illustrative of Indian Archeology and of the several branches of Natural history, in part to the preservation and exhibition of other objects of interest, whether historical, physical or economical, in part to the records and offices of the geological survey of India, and in part to the fit accommodation of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and to the reception of their library, manuscripts, maps, coins, busts, pictures, engravings and other property.[42]

The trustees of the Indian Museum incorporated the Bishop of Calcutta, the Vice Chancellor of the University of Calcutta, the Secretary to the Government of India in the home department, four other members who were nominated by the Governor General in Council, the President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and three members of the society who would be nominated. The body was also authorised to receive bequests, donations and subscriptions of land, buildings, money and objects of interest.[43] The museum was also authorised to order duplicates of printed books, medals, coins, specimens of natural history. These could be sold or exchanged for purchase of manuscripts, books, maps, medals, coins, specimens of natural history or other curosities.[44]

The trustees were also to provide a copy of the proceedings and accounts of the financial statements to the Government of India on the 1st of December every year.[45] It was decided that the Asiatic Society would deposit its collections of Indian Archeology and Natural History to the museum when the building was erected.[46] The

Asiatic Society would retain the library and the exclusive possession of the portions of the new building.[47] The Asiatic Society had refused to merge into the museum its offices fearing a loss of its identity. On 7th December, 1876 the Act No.XXII of 1876 was passed by the Governor General of India in Council to provide for the establishment of a public museum at Calcutta. The 1866 Act that laid the foundation of the Indian Museum, mentions:

> The Governor General of India in Council shall cause to be erected, at the expense of the Government of India, a suitable building in Calcutta, on or near the site now occupied by the Small Cause Court, to be devoted in part to collections illustrative of Indian Archeology and of the several branches of Natural history, in part to the preservation and exhibition of other objects of interest, whether historical, physical or economical, in part to the records and offices of the Geological Survey of India, and in part to the fit accommodation of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and to the reception of their library, manuscripts, maps, coins, busts, pictures, engravings, and other property.[48]

The Act provided for the physical building and the process of show casing India with the elaborate plan of the building, the library, manuscripts, maps, coins, busts and the engravings collections. The Act required the Asiatic Society to deposit its collections at the Indian museum.[49] The Geological Survey of India was to share the premises of the new museum along with the Asiatic Society. The premises were found to be too small and the Asiatic Society refused to move into the small premises. As a result the Asiatic Society was paid a sum of Rs.1, 50,000 as compensation for the space offered. The Indian Museum and the Asiatic Society functioned from separate premises. The

Asiatic Society then deposited its Archeological specimens at the museum and surrendered its geological specimens [50] to the Geological Survey of India.

In order to repel the Act XVII of 1866 it was decided to call this the Indian Museum Act, 1876. All the trustees appointed under the Act XVII 1866; were incorporated as trustees within the new act. [51] The trustees in this act would include the Governor General in Council, the Accountant General, five other members to be nominated by the Governor General in Council, the President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal along with four other nominated members of the society, the Superintendent of the Geological Survey of India and three other members. [52]

A further Act No.IV of 1887 was also passed on the 14th January, 1887. The aim of the Act was to alter the Body Corporate known as the trustees of the Indian Museum and to confer additional powers to the Body of trustees. This Act incorporated the Accountant General of Bengal, five other people to be appointed by the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, five persons to be appointed by the Council of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and five other members to be appointed by the trustees.[53] This act was modified as the Act X of 1910 on the 18th March, 1910. It was to be called the Indian Museum Act of 1910. The notification of the Act was to be announced in the Gazette of India.[54]

There were six main trustees who were appointed for the daily supervision of the museum. They included:

(1) The Accountant General of Bengal.

(2) The Principal, Government School of Art, Calcutta.

(3) The Director, Geological Survey of India.

(4) The Superintendent of the Zoological and Anthropological Section of the museum.

(5) The Director General of Archeology.

(6) The Officer in charge of the Industrial Section of the Museum.

The other trustees included one person to be nominated by the council of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, one person to be nominated by the Governor General in Council, three members to be nominated by the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, one person to be nominated by the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, one person to be nominated by the British Indian Association; Calcutta and three other members to be nominated by the trustees. [55] The duties of the trustees were manifold. They included the complete day to day activities of the Museum. Their duties included:

(1) The summoning of meetings.

(2) The Securance of attendance at meetings.

(3) The provision of keeping minute books and account books.

(4) The compilation of catalogues.

(5) The lending of articles in the collections.

(6) The exchange sale and presentations of the duplicate specimens to other museums in British India.

(7) The removal of articles.

(8) The general management of the museum.[56]

The structure of the museum got more refined with the order and the composition of the trustees. In the Act of 1866 there were 13 trustees. In the Act of 1876 there were 16 trustees. In 1887 the trustees were increased to 21 and in the Act of 1910 the Trustees were scaled down to 17.[57]

Being an imperial institution and financially funded by it; the Board of Trustees were from the departments of the British Government in India. The museum was to attain the structure, which in many manners reflects the main wings of the

National Museum today. A By law was issued on the 4th March, 1912 in accordance with the Act X of 1910. The Indian Museum through the By Law of 1912 had the following sections.

(1) The Zoological and Anthropological Section.

(2) The Art Section.

(3) The Archeological Section.

(4) The Industrial Section.

(5) The Geological Section.

A singular feature of the Indian Museum like the Asiatic Society and the Geological, Archeological, Biological, Ethnological and the Anthropological surveys was the presence of Indians on the list of trustees. Rai Bahadur Rajendra Lala Mitra the President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal was appointed a trustee on February, 1885. Rai N.G. Basu Bahadur the officiating Accountant General of Bengal was appointed a trustee on August 1911. A.N. Tagore the officiating Principal, School of Art was appointed a trustee on March, 1912. H.N. Bose who succeeded him as Principal was appointed on April, 1912. Babu Rajendralal Mullick was nominated by the Governor General in Council on June 1869; Raja Jotendro Mohan Tagore was nominated on February 1871. Maharaja Kumar Prodyot Coomar Tagore was nominated on February 1871. Maharaja Kumar Prodyot Coomar Tagore ws nominated on September 1869. Haji Jakaria Nur Mahomed; Basu Amrita Nath Mitter, were nominated on January 1887. Prince Jehan Kader Mirza Bahadur was nominated on September 1889. The Hon. Sahibzada Muhammed Bukhtyar Shah CIE was nominated on July 1897. Shamsul – Ulma – Mohamed Yusoof Khan Bahadur was nominated on June 1910. The Hon. Dr. Mohendra Lal Sircar was nominated as a trustee on May 1892 by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Rai Bahadur who was appointed a trustee in 1885 had been

initially a nominated member of the Asiatic Society. He was nominated under the Act XXII of 1876 on February, 1877. Maharaj Adiraj of Burdwan was nominated on November 1907. The British Indian Association selected Maharaja Sir Prodyot Coomar Tagore as a nominated trustee on June 1910. Maharaja J. M. Tagore was also an Honorary Chairman was appointed on May 1885, and he also became a Vice Chairman on March 1906. Rai Omrito Nath Mitter Bahadur was appointed a Honorary Secretary on May 1895. The presence of Indians on the decisive boards of Imperial institutions meant that the act of translating India was not a solitary silent encounter but an encounter of collaboration.

The collections of the Indian Museum display aspects of India. The 1912 By Law of Act X of 1910 had divided the museum into different sections. The collections display the 'modalities' a term used by Bernard Cohn which represent India. The representation does not reflect India in its totality. A museum can only represent a civilization through a selective process of being representative, the rarity value or by a simple process of the objects of interest being available selection and representation always is decision which is based on the motives and the imperatives of the governing ideology. The items in the Archeological collection included sculptures from Mathura, Sculptures from Sarnath. A collection of Brahmanical and Buddist images from Java, a number of inscriptions on stone, archeological specimens received from the Asiatic Society three different collections donated by Alexander Cunningham the Director General of the Archeological Survey of India. The Cunningham collection included:

(1) The remains of an ancient stupa and its railing from Bharhut, Nagod State in Central India.

(2) A number of Bas reliefs of the Indo Greek School of sculpture.

(3) A number of images and antiquities found in the temple courtyard of Bodh-Gaya.[58]

The Art section was formed by the amalgamation of the artware court which was housed in the economic section along with the Bengal Government art gallery. Lord North Brooke opened the Government art gallery on 6th April, 1876. In 1905 the art collections were merged with the art gallery. The Viceroy and the Lieutenant Governor had endorsed the move and the Principal of the school or art was made the Superintendent. Prior to this the Principal of the School of Art was a reporter on Economic products to the Government of India of the Artware Court. On April 1st, 1911 the Principal of the Government School of Art, Calcutta took charge as the Superintendent of the Art Section of the museum.[59]

The art collection at the museum was arranged into three main classes. They were (1) Textiles (2) Metal, Wood and Ceramics (3) Pictures. The textile collection incorporated embroidery from Kashmir and Dhakka and Gold Woven cloth (Kinkobs) from Surat and Banaras. Kashmiri brocades were also displayed. Metal art and statutes were taken from Kashmir, Multan, Bahawalpur and Lucknow. The picture gallery held a collection of 600 Indian minature water colour and temple banner paintings by 1914. There were paintings from India, Celon, Nepal and Tibet.[60]

Metal and hardware collections were divided under sub divisions as below:

(1) Brass and Copperwares from Tibet, Bhutan and Nepal.

(2) Brass and copperwares from other parts of India.

(3) Damascened and encrusted wares.

(4) Silverwares.

(5) Goldwares and imitation gold ornaments.

The museum was an attempt at portraying history. It was a visual representation of culture which is a direct by product of historical research. The centenary volume of the Indian Museum mentions:

> The principal value of these objects is that they represent, as near as we can tell, the style of art which flourished in India previous to the Mohammedan invasion.[61]

The museum was an attempt at portraying history as a visual representation of culture; as a by product of historical research. History and culture was viewed through the archeological specimens.

The Geological wing had four galleries. They were (1) The Siwalik (2) The Meteorite (3) The Mineral (4) The Fossil Gallery. The geological collection had begun with the establishment of the Asiatic Society in 1794 C.E. The collection increased with Natheniel Wallich's donation to the collection in 1814 C.E. An attempt to find a more suitable place for the collection had begun by 1796.[62] In 1855 C.E. new premises were made at No.1, Hastings Street. The Geological Survey of India office and a museum were established here. In 1858 C.E. the Museum was merged into the Geological Survey. [63]

The number of specimens in the museum included 11,000 specimens of minerals, over 26,000 rocks, 11,000 microscope slides and over 112,000 fossils and 414 meteorite samples which had fallen over India. The Geological collection moves from cultural mapping towards topographical mapping. [64] The Geological Survey of India along with the Great Trigonometrical Survey mapped out India by the land and the sea routes. The Geological Surveys brought out the composition of the soil, rocks and subterranean information. The survey constructed the mineral map of the country which became an important part of the Imperial economic resources.

The concentration of economic information is further noted in the Industrial Section. The industrial section examined and displayed seeds, grains, fibres, silk, oil, drugs, minerals and timber. [65] The collection included:

(1) The Entire collection of the Bengal Economic Museum.

(2) Collections of Economic products and Indian artware made by revenue and Agricultural Department of the Government of India.

(3) Collections of products contributed by private individuals.

(4) Trade samples supplied by the various Indian Chambers of Commerce and by individual members.

(5) A small series of ethnological specimens purchased or loaned. [66]

The collections were arranged in the following wings.

(1) Gum, resins, India rubber.

(2) Oils, seed cakes, oil cakes, soap and waxes.

(3) Dyes, tans e.g. indigo and cutch.

(4) Fibres, silk, cotton, jute and wool.

(5) Medicinal products and Indian drugs.

(6) Narcotics, opium, Indian hemp and tobacco.

(7) Food substances, sugar, starch and cereals.

(8) Timbers. [67]

There was an administrative structure which was responsible for procuring specimens. There was a central committee with Mr. Justice Phear as the Chairman. A local committee was formed in each district of Assam and Bengal. Tea companies in Assam and Darjeeling provided specimens. Bengal collieries sent in samples of coal. Jute mills despatched jute fibres raw jute and bags. The Superintendent of the Royal Botanical Gardens at Sibhpur donated specimens of timber and tobacco. Oilseeds, lac

and indigo came in from various districts. [68] The Industrial collection provided the glimpse of the economic base of the British Empire in India. The show casing of the products produced, grown and manufactured with in a single roof is an exercise of collection, identification and a designation of value. The Industrial section points to products which were appropriated as a part of the imperial economic exercise. Imperialism moved beyond ideology in a literary sense to the level of an economic exploitation of an occupied country.

Museums begin with a specific purpose of display, conservation, documentation and commentaries, associated around art objects. The British did not select India or read India in its totality. The modes of calculations and categorization that were used could not capture the plural qualities of multiple India's. The survey results represented India statistically in tabular formulations, or it could be said that India and its cultural past was better understood in tabular formulations. The statistical analysis of curio's and museum development is linked to a philosophical and a physical need for an archive. Statistical surveys and museums have a rigid order and a framework of a scientific reason underlining it. The rationality of the Enlightenment project placed its emphasis on reason and order. India was a confusing reality with its innumerable tropes, archetypes and knowledge systems. The scientific principles from statistical analysis to trigonometrical surveys in different areas were helpful in getting a grasp on the reality in the country. Ironically the reality that the British created was a 'virtual India'; that was statistically driven within imperial frameworks of governance; and was extremely selective in nature. The policy of 'difference' within the cultural and the social milieu drove the enquiry.

The Indian Museum also highlights the gradual homogenization of a feudal India to the level of a nation state; which was a part of the British Empire in the East.

British India with its plural princely states was perceived to be a homogeneous nation state by the British. It did not take into account the resistance, collaboration or a negation of the idea. The idea of pluralities was noted largely in administrative terms and was hardly noted in cultural terms. The British sought to bring about the Western idea of a nation state with its monogenous identity by their presence. The idea of the 'British India'; was a superimposition of western knowledge systems. It was an exercise in the construction of a unified India. The surveys led to an understanding of the different parts of India. It needed to be collected and assembled into an integrated whole. The need for the museum and the development of the museum helped the British to consolidate their vision of India. The museum in essence presented a selective India. This could be attributed to a physical problem of shifting existing monuments or plainly to a lack of archeological information or an intentional arrangement and selection of objects to suit the imperial vision.

The Indian museum translated India as an imperial translation. The sections of the museum incorporated a huge amount of material from various parts of India under a single roof. The surveys of the East India Company and the British Government in India helped them to gauge and understand the complexities of India. There were problems and resistance in the process of gaining information. The British Government encountered problems like language barriers, the terrain and the mapping of the histories and customs of the people. Along with the physical surveys as noted in the formation of the Imperial Gazetteers of India; there was an interest into the archeological modes and objects of India.

III

The Great Trigonometrical Survey and the earlier topographical surveys had led the company officials to various parts of India. This had led to the discovery of archeological sites, monuments and the cultural objects of the past. The urge to document in the modes of the Enlightenment modernity with its emphasis on a scientific precision led to the refinements within the archeological discipline. Alexander Cunningham the First Director of the Archeological Survey of India mentions:

> From the foundation of the Asiatic Society by Sir William Jones in 1784 down to 1834, a period of just half a century, our archeological researches had been chiefly literary, and with a few notable exceptions, had been confined to translations of books and inscriptions.[69]

The growth of the Asiatic Society in 1784 C.E. had begun the archeological quest; through the form of epigraphical and numismatical studies. The early days of the Asiatic Society since 1784 C.E. had been preoccupied with literature and historical genealogy. The Asiatic Researches show numerous transactions of receiving copies of inscriptions or descriptions of archeological sites from the far out posts of India. There had not been a systematic account and examinations of monuments and sites on the field. This is due to the fact that the early Orientalists like Sir William Jones, H.T. Colebrooke, James Princep and H.H. Wilson held administrative posts in the company. It prevented the Orientalists from making archeological field visits. Moreover archeology had not been a high priority with the early days of the company. The discovery of the field sites were accidental and were discovered during the land and the river surveys. The early archeological surveys were conducted by Alexander Cunningham and Colin Mackenzie.

The inquiry into the past of India was threefold. On one level it was 'useful knowledge'; as Hastings had put it. Secondly the surveys were the beginnings of the consolidation of the empire. Thirdly it was a search into the missing Aryan link. The surveys form a transition from a provincial limited mercantile and military presence to a state of settling down as the dominant controlling power. There had been earlier histories like Alexander Dow's *History of Hindostan* [70] and efforts by Zephania Holwell. These were followed by William Jone's researches into language and literature. These discoveries had been assisted by reports from the field by company officials. The early speculatory epigraphical analysis of the Asiatic Society which was amazingly accurate on many genealogies still lacked the information on vast chunks of history; which could only be got by archeological diggings. The growth of the surveys is intimately connected with the expansion of territory. The growth of territorial control after the Battles of Plassey, Buxar and the Mysore Wars menth controlling access on the land. The territory had to be surveyed historically, anthropologically, linguistically and finally archeologically to get a grasp on the territory. The scientific process of documentation led to the creation of a "Virtual India", which existed in print; in the form of gazetteers, books, records, maps and travel accounts. Ownership of land brought about a transition from a linguistic and a literary history to the beginnings of field archeology.

This section aims to examine the motives of the archeological survey with the efforts of Alexander Cunningham, James Princep and Colonel Mackenzie. Alexander Cunningham was appointed the First Director General of the Archeological Survey of India. Alexander Cunningham had submitted a memorandum to Lord Canning on November 1861. [71] Lord Canning after examining the memorandum had commented on the neglect of the archeological and architectural remains. Canning comments:

> It is impossible to pass through that part, - or indeed, so far as my experience goes any part – of the British territories in India without being stuck by the neglect with which the greater portion of the architectural remains, and of the traces of by-gone civilization have been treated, though many of these, and some which have had least notice, are full of beauty and interest.[72]

The Government had been open to the survey recognising the need for expenditure and the costs of the archeological mapping of the empire. The Company had weighed heavily on the costs which would be incurred on the surveys. Lord Canning also recognised the fact that it would be impossible for the government to pay for the upkeep of the archeological sites. Lord Canning's statement is significant in the minute when he considers the construction of an archive of information. He mentions:

> But so far as the government is concerned, there has been neglect of a much cheaper duty, - that of investigation and placing on record, for the instruction of future generations, many particulars that might still be rescued from oblivion, and throw light upon the early history of England's great dependency; a history which, as times moves on, as the country becomes more easily accessible and traversable, and as Englishmen are led to give more thought to India than such as barely suffices to hold it and govern it, will assuredly occupy, more and more, the attention of the intelligent and enquiring classes in European countries.[73]

Lord Canning comments on important aspects which lead to the formation of an archive. The idea of the expenditure overweighed on the government but there was a plan for the creation of a record which would help a number of people within the administration as time moved on. The period after the 1857 C.E. uprising saw the transfer of the East India Company to the British Crown; and settled administration in

the territories. There is a further angle to this; regarding the British presence in India. Orientalistic bodies and chairs had been established throughout Europe by the huge interest in Orientalistic studies. There was a degree of competitive Orientalism among countries; notably Germany. Britain had the advantage by the virtue of being the rulers. This led them acquire maximum information due to an unrestricted access to sites and manuscripts. Lord Canning comments:

> It will not be to our credit, as an enlightened ruling power, if we continue to allow such fields of investigation, as the remains of the old Buddist Capital in Behar, the vast ruins of Kanory, the plains around Delhi, studded with ruins more thickly than ever the Campagna of Rome, and many others, to remain without more examination than they have hitherto received. Everything that has hitherto been done in this way has been done by private persons, imperfectly and without system. It is impossible not to feel that there are European Governments, which, if they had held our rule in India, would not have allowed this to be said.[74]

The idea of competing Orientalisms promotes the Archeological Survey of India. It is also indicative of the British interest in the field of International Indological studies. Lord Canning states:

> What is aimed at is an accurate description, - illustrated by plans, measurements, drawings or photographs, and by copies of inscriptions, - of such remains as most deserve notice, with the history of them so far as it may be traceable, and a record of the traditions that are retained regarding them.[75]

The investigative mode examines and records and by doing this it creates a picture of the place that is ruled. The survey permit also reflects the anxiety of knowing and understanding the ruled. The international position of competing with other European

powers in the creation of knowledge paradigms which governed Orientalism led to documentation modes.

Alexander Cunningham in a memorandum to Lord Canning the Governor General of India mentioned his desire and aim to investigate the archeological remains of Upper India Cunningham remarks:

> During the one hundred years of British dominion in India, the Government has done little or nothing towards the preservation of its ancient monuments, which, in the almost total absence of any written history, form the only reliable sources of information as to the early condition of the country. Some of these monuments have already endured for ages, and are likely to last for ages still to come; but there are many others which are daily suffering from the effects of time, and which must soon disappear altogether, unless preserved by the accurate drawings and faithful descriptions of the archeologist.[76]

Cunningham viewed the archeological sites as historical records. The British surveyors who had discovered the sites were confused by the absence of information. They were aware of the older travel records. Cunningham proposed the survey of archeological sites on the route taken by Hieun Tsang. he had no idea about the sites, the historical genealogy or the cultural significance. There was an urge to record the early history keeping in view the scientific and ideological research that had taken place; with the study of Sanskrit and the common source of origins. The ideological moorings of the British were tied with early India for this reason. The British thought that the archeological sites would yield the clues of the Aryan routes; through the physical remains of the early Vedic period. The linguistic route was ambiguous and had not yielded clear details. Cunningham further mentions:

> All that has hitherto been done towards the illustration of ancient Indian history has been due to the unaided efforts of private individuals. These researches consequently have always been desultory and unconnected and frequently incomplete, owing partly to the short stay which individual officers usually make at any particular place, and partly to the limited leisure which could be devoted to such pursuits.[77]

The early researches had been pioneered by scholar administrators like William Jones. H.T. Colebrooke, H.H.Wilson, James Princep and others before them. The British presence after the Battle of Plassey had changed. There was a great urge to legitimize their presence. The examination of the countries resources required systematic departments. The Memorandum by Cunningham created the process where imperialistic modes were legitimized into the creation of government departments. Cunningham states:

> Hitherto the Government has been chiefly occupied with the extension and consolidation of empire, but the establishment of the Trigonometrical Survey shows that it has not been unmindful of the claims of science. It would rebound equally to the honour of the British Government to institute a careful and systematic investigation of all the existing monuments of ancient India.[78]

Cunningham took the route of Hieun Tsang in his search for Buddhist sites. The discovery of Buddhism and Buddha by Cunningham, Hodgson and Alexander Csoma De Koros was important in historical terms and the ideological positions in Buddhism as a counter discourse to Brahmanism was also understood by the British. Brahmanism was perceived to be a controlling factor in India. Cunningham had a scientific rationale in retracing the steps of Hieum Tsang. The route was a map to sites

of excellence which had flourished in the past. The travel journals of the past were utilised to guide investigations. The British by using this archive validated the post travellers and in the process felt that the enlightenment objectivity was achieved. Thesites only remained to be identified, studied, drawn and researched.

Colin Mackenzie (1784-1821) was associated with the Madras Engineers. He conducted the Survey of Mysore between 1799-1808. He became the Surveyor General of Madras during 1810-15 and was elevated to the position of the Surveyor General of India during the period of 1815-1821. Mackenzie played an integral role in the Mysore surveys and the Great Trigonometrical Survey. He was also an assiduous collector of manuscripts, inscriptions and the coins of the Indian Peninsula. Mackenzie mentions on his historical interest:

> That science may derive assistance and knowledge be diffused, in the leisure moments of camps and voyages, is no discovery; but I am also desirous of proving that, in the vacant moments of an Indian sojourn and campaign in particular (for what is the life of an Indian adventurer but one continued campaign on a more extensive scale), such collected observations may be found useful, at least in directing the observations of those more highly gifted to matters of utility, if not to record facts of importance to philosophy and science.[79]

Mackenzie symbolizes the early era of the British administration and administrative scholars. Oriental studies were objects of leisure which were pursued in one's spare time. It was not institutionalized like the period of Alexander Cunningham where an entire department of archeology was created. Mackenzie had possessed one of the most extensive private collections which are now wtih the India office library. The collection was sent in three batches in 1823 C.E. and 1825 C.E.

The manuscripts which related to South India were sent to the Library of the Madras College. [80] His collection included 1,568 literary manuscripts of which 681 were in Sanskrit, 176 were in Telugu, 208 were in Kanarese and the rest were in Malayalam, Oriya and Marathi. The collection had 45 volumes on Jain literature;3000 tracts in 264 bound volumes, 8,076 copied inscriptions from stone and copper plates bound in seventy seven volumes, 2,159 translations in loose sheets, 2,700 plans and drawings, 6,218 coins, 106 images and 40 antiquities. [81] H.H. Wilson made a catalogue of this collection after Mackenzie's death. Mackenzie's contributions include a major insight into Jainaism studies. He had published, '*An Account of the Jains*'. [82] Mackenzie's article gives details of the 24 tirtankaras for the first time and an account of the Jain religion. Being a private collection Mackenzie preserved huge tracts of South Indian history. The fact that it was preserved speaks about the growth of archives and archival management. The British studiously preserved within a scientific gaze 'the India' which was perceived by them. Mackenzie had collected a huge amount of data during the survey of Mysore between 1800-1807. A broad category of the data is represented below.

CATEGORIES OF DATA FOR COLIN MACKENZIE'S SURVEY OF MYSORE – 1800-1807:

(1) Modern Names of the Circar, Pargana, taluk or district to which each village belongs (also provincial designations if beyond Mughal subdivision into circars).

(2) Ancient names of Districts.

(3) Names of capitals, cusbas etc.

(4) Distances in koss or other Indian measures along the road to compare with measured road distances, so as to form a conversion factor from Indian to British measures.

(5) Computed distances to significant places to either side of the route.

(6) Names of rivers (ancient and modern), their confluences etc.

(7) Names of remarkable hills, table lands, ghats, passes, etc., plus their forests, minerals and production.

(8) Remarkable springs, fountains, lakes, etc., and associated temples.

(9) Most remarkable pagodas, which are especially important for examining revenues and land grants.

(10) Languages spoken by the natives.

(11) Remains of ancient structures and any lore about them.

(12) Modern history of the country, before and after the Mughal conquest.

(13) History of therajas, poligars etc.

(14) Extent of each pargana or district.

(15) Districts belonging to Hindu rajas.

(16) “Productions of the country, “including plants and the character of the soil.

(17) Minerals, fossils, ores, etc.

(18) Manufacturing and the arts.

(19) Interior and foreign commerce.

(20) System of Government and revenue management.

(21) Peculiar customs of the natives, and especially any differences of established customs.

(22) Books and depositories of native learning.

(23) Native legal codes.

(24) Alphabets and the characters used.

(25) Population of districts by caste, family villages etc. (tolerable estimate only).

(26) Land revenue under Hindus, although too complex for easy examination.

(27) Prevailing winds, rains, seasonal changes.

(28) Diseases, remedies, medicines, etc.

(29) Remarks on the aspect of the country in general, including sketches of the general outlines of hills and ridges with names and computed distances.

(30) Animals (wild and tame) peculiar to the area.

(31) Principal towns, forts etc.

(32) Positions determined by astronomical observations whenever possible. [83]

Francis Buchanan (1762-1829) was an official of the Bengal Medical Service. He also took part in the Mysore Surveys between 1800-1801 and the Survey of Bengal between 1807-1814. His heads for his data collection for Mysore include:

CATEGORIES OF DATA FOR FRANCIS BUCHNAN, MYSORE, 1800-1801.

(1) Agriculture, "the first great and essential object".

(a) Esculent vegetables : kinds, modes of cultivation, implements of husbandry, manures, irrigation, use of machinery, use as food and fodder;

(b) Cattle and horses, modes of breeding, species used for draft, potential for improving other breeds;

(c) Farms: extant, tenures, price and payment of labour, as compared with those in Bengal, potential for improvement.

(2) Natural productions of the country, "the next immediate object".

(a) Cotton, pepper, sandalwood, cardamoms; cultivation and trade, nature and content, means of improvements,

(b) Mines, quarries, minerals, and mineral supplies: produce, modes of working, treatment and conditions of labour, potential medicinal qualities of mineral springs.

(3) State of the manufactures: exports and imports, labour rates, etc.

(4) The climate and seasons of Mysore prevailing winds, effects of air on human body, areas of salubrity compared with rest of India.

(5) Forests: extent, nature and species of trees, modes of lumbering, etc.

(6) "Conditions of the inhabitants", food, clothing, inhabitants, sects, tribes, laws, customs, personal traffic, weights and measures, currency, and "such matters, in respect to their police, as may seem to you to have an immediate or particular tendency towards the protection, security, and comfort of the lower orders of the people".[84]

Buchanan also surveyed Bengal between 1807-1814. The data heads of the survey are as below:

CATEGORIES OF DATA FOR FRANCIS BUCHANAN, BENGAL, 1807-1814.

(1) Topographical account of each district: extent, soil, plains, mountains, rivers, harbors, towns, and subdivisions, air and weather; plus "whatever you may discover worthy of remark concerning the history and antiquities of the country".

(2) "The conditions of the inhabitants": Population, food, clothing, habitations; common diseases and cures; education; poor relief.

(3) Religion and customs of each sect or tribe; the emoluments and power enjoyed by priests and chiefs; potential sources of popular discontent.

(4) Natural productions of the country" : Animal, vegetable, and mineral, especially :

(a) the fisheries: extent, operation, obstacles to improvement and extension.

(b) the forests: extent and situation rewater conveyance, species, value, improvements.

(c) mines and quarries : produce, manner of working, state of employees;

(5) Agriculture, especially :

(a) “the vegetables cultivated for food, forage, medicine, or intoxication, or as raw materials for the arts” : modes of cultivation, value, extent, improvements.

(b) agricultural implements : defects and advantages, potential for improvement;

(c) manures and irrigation.

(d) flood control and potential improvements;

(e) the domestic animals : food, use in labour, value, possible improvements.

(f) use of fences and their utility.

(g) “the state of farms” : Size, expense, rents, wages, conditions of laborers, tenures, possible improvements.

(h) “the state of landed property” and tenures.

(6) “The progress made by the natives in the fine arts, in the common arts, and the state of the manufacturers”: Architecture, sculpture, and painting; different processes and machinery used by workmen; relation of manufacturers to locally produced raw materials; possible improvements.

(7) Commerce: exports and imports, trade; regulation of money, weights, and measures; transportation of goods by land and water, possible improvements.

(8) "In addition to the foregoing objects of inquiry, you will take every opportunity of forwarding to the company's Botanical garden.... Whatever useful or rare and curious plants and seeds you may be enabled to acquire in the progress of your researches, with such observations as may be necessary for their culture". [85]

The types of data heads collected by Mackenzie and Buchanan are connected to the imperialistic ideology of 'viewing'. Imperial mapping as Matthew Edney mentions was divided between geography (description of the earth) and choreography (description of the region). Geography menth the topography of the land and choreography defined the people, customs, botany, zoology, etc. [86] Hence much of the research that goes into the formation of the surveys like the gazetteers is a blend of the actual fact and the blurring of the facts via the intention of the perceivers personality and ideological moorings. The accuracy of factual information be it drawings, maps, paintings or observations were taken as granted. This was due to 'reason'; a scientific faculty of viewing. The observer saw and represented the actual site or object like a camera obscura which was a photographic device. This presented a legitimization of vision and a legitimization of the archive. Utilitarianism which drove the imperialistic ideology is underscored throughout the surveys. Every piece of data had its statistical head. Statistics in the nineteenth century discourse was understood as information and knowledge systems. The heads of injury in the preceding tables are not strictly geographical by definition. It appears to be more choro-geographical. The translation of the geographical space occurs here. The translation intersects historically from a wide perspective and closes in to the particular. It is a complete act of 'viewing' into the customs, geographical features, architecture, history, literature, language, zoology and manners. The surveys end up as the closed space for the

production and the dissemination of information; which is intended to be authentic, legitimate and complete. The problems that arise is in a case of an incomplete selection of data where a painting, a picture, a description or a sketch was seen as a representation of a culture, a province or a region; disregarding the pluralities present therein. It was compounded by the lack of first hand information and contamination by a preconceived ideology and images. It further reinforces the idea of a 'Virtual India' or an India viewed through an archive. It was largely constructed with the act of viewing or the construction of the gaze; where the gaze constructed the objects of the view.

Mackenzie in the process of the surveys identified monuments and had built up the huge oriental collection. Mackenzie had help from the local natives and maulvis. Kavali Venkata Lakshmaiah Mackenzie's pundit had written to Sir Federick Adam the Governor of Madras offering his services to arrange and translate Mackenzie's collection after he had passed away. Sir Federick Adam had referred the matter to the Asiatic Society. The Society nominated William Taylor who had offered to work on the Mackenzie manuscripts at the Madras College. Kavali Venkata Lakshmaiah was seconded to him as an assistant. [87] The project translates India was achieved by using indigenous knowledge and help. Pundits and Maulvis interested the archive. Imperial practices cannot be seen as a single endeavour by white men but rather as an intersection of imperial and indigenous practices and gazes. The indigenous gaze also was at the same time influenced and directed by imperial practices and ideology.

James Princep ranks along with Alexander Cunningham as an Orientalist who decoded key elements of India's past history. Cunningham decoded the primary Buddist sites of Bodhgaya and Sanchi. Buchanan had examined the Amravati Stupas.

James Princep is crucially important for the discovery of Asoka Priyadarshini and the deciphering of the Asokan Edicts. Princep's training as an assay master at Banaras and Calcutta moved the researches of the Asiatic Society from its focus on language and literature to archeology. Princep had used the term 'a field archeologist' for the first time and Cunningham had termed it as a transition from closet or scholastic archeologists to field antiquarians. The construction of Indian history was done through the decoding of epigraphic, numismatic and archeological evidence. James Princep through the study of coins discovered the existence of Kanishka the Scytho. Parthean prince. [88] Princep was also able to examine and decipher the Asokan Brahmi script after examining the rock edicts at Girnar and Orissa and the Ashokan pillars at Delhi, Bihar, Allahabad, Hissar and Fatihabad. This was a joint exercise with a large amount of help from different quarters. T.S.Burt from Allahabad, Colonel James Tod from Rajasthan, Alexander Cunningham from Bihar, Captain A. Troyer; the Secretary of the Sanskrit College at Calcutta along with the college librarian Pandit Madhava Ray, Charles Wilkins from Gaya, W.H. Mill; the principal of the Bishop's college at Sibpur in Howrah, Andrew Stirling from Orissa, Brain Houghton Hodgson in Nepal, Alexander Soma De Coros, William Jones pundit Govind Ram Shastri, Captain Edmund Smith from Sanchi, William Taylor from Madras and George Turnour in Sri Lanka all helped forward copies of the inscriptions and made initial transcripts. James Princep was able to decode the Brahmi script and was able to bring out the history of Asoka, his life and by connections the spread of Buddism in South East Asia.

James Princep and the accompanying Orientalists discovered India's past. The construction of history in a chronological manner was in continuation with William Jones Desiderata. This was done for a number of reasons. A chronological history helped the British to acquire a temporal scale of India. The Orient had always been

described as mysterious and was shrouded in metaphors. The metaphoric India within western writings and conceptions was objectified into a tabular chronology of periods which gave a firm grip on the antecedents of the region the province and the people. The archival mode of reason and perception demanded a manner of ordering data. With a firm periodisation of dynasties and rulers, connections were made into kingdoms and monarchies outside India. There is a constant reference to Greece and Egypt in the *Asiatick Researches*. Greece was known through classical medieval studies and Egypt through the efforts of Napoleons Egyptographers. These connections constantly underscored the central preoccupation of Indological studies in the 19th century regarding the common sources of origins and the Aryan missing links. The translation in history was also a psychological encountering of the ‘other’, which gradually demonstrated and ordered the ‘other’.

IV

One major feature of British Orientalism was the recognition of linguistic skills needed for governing territory. Languages assumed prominence during the early half of the 19th century. The need for languages was noted for interaction with the local populace. The British territories and the rest of India was a problematic 'Other' for the British colonialists. Major tracts of recorded history like Ferishta's were in Persian. The administrators needed a systematic training in Persian for administration and Sanskrit and Bengali for the interpretation of the local conditions and the law. Attempts had been made at this by the publication of the *Codes of Manu* by Sir William Jones [89] and the *The Code of Gentoo Laws* [90] by Nathenial Halhed. These were isolated texts meant for dispensing justice which was an immediate problem. The achievement of a degree of fluency for local interaction meant a need for an institution of languages.

The College of Fort William was founded on the 18th August, 1800. It was inaugurated on 4th May, 1800 and the first term commenced on 6th February, 1800 [91]. The principal aim of the college was to train the candidates in the field of administration. The role of conquest had seen the British in a new mode of being rulers. The idea of rule involves having men in various administrative positions of duties and a degree of competency in the act of duties. The categories that existed like the Writer, Factor and Merchant [92] were suitable for trade and not, for managing the districts. The occupational profile of the East India Company had changed drastically and it necessitated a change in the world view.

The fresh agenda according to Wellesley was the administration of justice in the 'various languages, manners, usages and religions'; and the need for a change in the process of revenue collection in the districts. Wellesley distinguished between the

mercantile nature of the company and the role of the civil servant. He mentioned that the idea of Factors, Writers and Merchants had by oath to abstain from commercial and mercantile pursuit's.[93] There was a growing realization of the changing role of the company. This was an attempt at differentiating the trader and the administrator. The professional skills that were required were different. Both the categories complement each other but the work profile needed a different orientation of understanding the mechanics of administration. Wellesley mentioned that the civil servants did not merely and study and administer law but rather had to interpret it and at times had to propose amendments to the law to the Governor General in council. This required a background which was necessarily different from the mercantile and the commercial character which largely characterised company official's [94] Wellesley mentioned.

> ‘They are required to discharge the functions of magistrates, Judges, Ambassadors and Governors of provinces, in all the complicated and extensive relations of those sacred trusts and exalted stations. [95]
>
> ...their studies, the discipline of their education, their habits of life, their manners and morals should therefore be ordered and regulated. [96]

Wellesley in the formulation of the Education policy for the civil servants had laid the foundation of the subsequent course of education in India and the process of canonization of authors and texts in India. He mentioned that the education of the civil servants had to be comprehensive. The aims of the curriculum included:

1. An intimate acquaintance with history.
2. Languages, customs and the Manners of the people of India.
3. Mohammedans and the Hindu Codes of Laws.
4. The Political and the Commercial interests and the relations of Great Britain in Asia.

5. Ethics, Jurisprudence and the laws of nations.

6. General History. [97]

The transition from a mercantile perspective to an administrative one was difficult. Wellesley was able to pinpoint the problems afflicting the company. He pointed out,

1. The Education provided was confined to commercial and mercantile studies.
2. The premature termination of the courses that were offered.
3. The destitute condition of the young writers and the cultural shock of reaching India.
4. The need for a similar course of studies in India which would orient the Writers towards the languages, laws, usages and the customs of India.
5. The need for incentives for those who might level up with the 'needs' of the present for the discharge of the duties in the civil stations.[98]

Wellesley pointed to the obvious process of cultural assimilation in the process of colonization. He mentioned that the present studies of the East India company official's would not help them to discharge the duties of a 'complicated nature'. The education needed to have the 'combined principals of the Asiatic and European (society) and Government. [99]

The idea of assimilation is never innocent in the imperial process. It must be noted that the Asiatic Society of Bengal had been founded by Sir William Jones in 1784 and the zenith of the society was in the process with the publication of the *Asiatick Researches*. One of the later secretaries and President of the Asiatic Society was H.H. Wilson. He had been a part of the Fort William project along with William Carey of the Serampore Mission whose Serampore Mission Press often collaborated with the Asiatic Society of Bengal .The *Asiatick Researches* and the translation projects of the Serampore Mission Press had helped in the establishment of the Company power

in India. The *Asiatick Researches* and the publications of the Serampore Mission Press brought out insights in the fields of Indian literature, archaeology, numismatics, natural science and the construction of Indian history. The Serampore Mission Press and the Fort William College collaborated in the publication of many dictionaries and textbooks. This is a list of a few publications of the Fort William College which were printed at the Serampore Mission Press.[100]

1. Dialogues, William Carey, 1801.
2. A Grammar of the Bengalee Languages, William Carey, 1801.
3. Raja Pratapaditya Charitra, Ram Ram Basu, 1801.
4. Batrish Sinhasan, Mrityunjay Vidyalamkar, 1802.
5. Hitopadesha, Goloknath Basu, 1802.
6. Lipimala, Ram Ram Basu, 1802.
7. A Grammar of the Marhatta Languages, William Carey, 1805.
8. Sinhasana battisi (Marathi), Vidyanath Sharma, 1812.
9. Ramayana, (Bengali), 1802.
10. Amarakosha, ed. H.T. Colebrooke, 1807.
11. A Grammar of the Telinga Language, William Carey, 1812.

The publications were extremely selective in their choice. The subject of the translations helped in presenting a particular view. This particularised view was ideologically motivated as to the utility of the project towards the imperialistic project. It involved the compilation of textbooks and dictionaries which would help in the initial familiarization of the candidates towards India and the Indian culture. The College of Fort William taught the following subjects. The subjects were Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit, Hindustani, Bengali, Telugu, Marathi and Kannada. These were list of

languages that were taught alongwith selected texts. Apart from these languages the subjects taught were as below.[101]

1. Mohammedan Law.
2. Hindoo Law.
3. Ethics, Jurisprudence and the Laws of Nations.
4. English Law.
5. Political Economy.
6. Commercial Institutions and the interests of the East India Company.
7. Geography.
8. Mathematics.
9. Modern Languages of Europe.
10. General History Ancient and Modern.
11. The History and the Antiquities of Hindoostan and the Deccan.
12. Natural History.
13. Botany, Chemistry and Astronomy.

There was also a library attached to the college. *The Calcutta Gazette* in an additional supplement mentions the need for a library or an institution of a public repository where oriental writings could be preserved.[102] The study of the Indian languages was a crucial step undertaken by Wellesley in an institutionalised manner. The institutionalization of the languages and the study of Indology for the 'future discharge of duties', as a civil servant in India led to the process of canonization of texts and authors; as the imperial process made it steadily more and more India specific. This is apparent in the roles of Charles Grant, James Mill and T.B. Macaulay and the formation of the English literary canon for India post 1835.Wellesley mentions that the British civil servant needed to have a competent knowledge of two languages from

Persian, Arabic, Sanskrit, Hindustani or Bengali to qualify for public service within the company.[103] The statutes further mention that the professors had to show satisfactory proof of his eminent proficiency in at least two languages taught by the college by having degrees of honour in such languages.[104] The syllabus and the books that were prescribed for the certificates for higher proficiency are interesting examples of a selective selection. The texts included:

1. Arabic: 1) Alif Laila. 2) Ikhwanus Safa 3) Nafat Ul Yaman.
2. Persian: 1) Gulistan 2) Bostan 3) Anwari Soheilee.
3. Hindustani or Urdu: 1) Baghobuhar 2) Gooli Bukawulee 3) Betal Pachisi.
4. Sanskrit: 1) Hitopadesha 2) Mahabharata.
5. Hindi: 1) Rajneeti 2) Prem Sagar 3) Bagh O Bahar.
6. Bengali: 1) Hitopadesha 2) Purusha Pariksha. [105]

The syllabus for the Degrees of Honour was as below:

1. Arabic: 1) Nafat Ul Yaman 2) Taimur Nama.
2. Persian: 1) Akhlagu Julali 2) Inshai Abu Fazl 3) Sikandar Nama 4) Dewani Hafiz.
3. Hindustani and Urdu: 1) Baghobahar 2) Khiradafroz 3) Knliyati Sonda 4) Dewani Hafiz.
4. Sanskrit: 1) Hitopedsha 2) Mahabharata 3) Raghuvansham 4) Sakuntala nataka.
5. Hindi: 1) Prem Sagar 2) Sabha Vilas 3) Ramayana by Tulsidas 4) Baghobahar.
6. Bengali: 1) Purush Pariksha 2) Hitopedsha 3) Mahabharata 4) Prabodh Chadrika. [106]

The texts like Gulistan, Hitopedsha, The Mahabharata, Rajneeti, Sikandernama, Inshai Abu Fazl, The Ramayna and texts by Kalidasa have a long history of translation not only by the British but also the Portuguese, the French and the Dutch. Grammar was an integral part of language studies and competent dictionaries and grammars in Sanskrit, Bengali and other Languages were available. William Carey was a noted lexical specialist, who was a part of the faculty of the Fort William College. He taught Bengali and Sanskrit at the college.

The first problem that surfaces within the college is that of institutionalisation. There is an institutionalisation of syllabi which handle texts which would help in the colonization of mental spaces. Texts like the Hindu and the Muslim law codes along with texts in Indian history like the Sikendar Nama, Inshai Abu Fazal had created a growing awareness of the laws of the land and its customs. The growing empire needed to be governed within the pluralities of codes, castes and regional biases. Moreover the candidates for the civil service needed to clear exams in two different languages which equipped them along with its literature of handling the micro issues of the empire at the level of the districts. Institutionalism by setting up of institutes, bodies and government departments for specific purposes in the colonial period signifies definite colonial agendas. Institutionalism visualises a long term design, a definite structure and a pooling of resources. The Fort William College was funded by the Court of Directors of the East India Company in England; though the initiative of setting up the college was taken by *Wellesley*. It had specific language departments for its territories and teachers who had worked for years in the government and the fields of Indology. The institutionalisation of a department for training candidates into the local languages, customs and manners had imperial designs. The Asiatic society of Bengal was established in 1784 and Sir William Jones had brought about a major sea change in

Indology. Moreover the Mysore wars had been won by the British with the death of Tipu Sultan at Seringapatam. A training college was also a scientific way of a supervised learning which went on towards the management of the colony.

The choice of the texts played an important role in cementing the Orientalising tendencies of the college. William Carey had translated the *Ramayana* [107] into Bengali and English. The *Bhagwat Geeta* [108] was translated by Charles Wilkins. Wilkins established the first printing press in Calcutta. He also created the first Bengali type and had published Natheniel Halhead's *The Code of Gentoo Laws* [109] *Sakuntala* had been translated by Sir William Jones and had been acclaimed in Europe. In fact it was the *Sakuntala* which became the inspirational starting point for Indological studies through out Europe. The prescribed texts had become canonized in the West as Indian representative texts and were treated along with Sanskrit as exotic elements of a nation which could be the starting point of the cradle of Western civilization. This also led to the start of philological and ethnological studies in the west. The texts were treated as an image of India and pointed towards the early phase of civilization which was seen and noted as the cultural high water marks within Indian history. The texts like the *Ramayana,* the *Mahabharata* and Kalidasa's plays are mythopoeic in nature. They represent the aesthetic aspect of Indian culture. They do not represent India as the only form of representation. In many ways being aesthetic creations they do not correspond to the Indian reality. They represent a part of the multifaceted Indian culture. Moreover the texts like The *Mahabharata* and The *Ramayana* are treated as religious texts in India. The British administration and the missionaries recognised this. The translation of the texts by William Carey of the Serampore mission points to problems of engaging with the native religious resistance. Contemporary missionary accounts of the period constantly engage with the erotic properties of the lingam worship by the

Shaivites, animal worship and there was the constant problem of dealing with the image of Kali and the underlying maternity principle. The translations made great inroads in the understanding of the Hindu religious texts and the Hindu mind. Islam was well known because of the centuries of proximity and contact with the Middle East. The dissemination of Christianity was important for Carey, Ward and Marshman who had to operate from the Dutch settlement of Serampore on account of the British policy of religious non interference. The East India Company directors had blamed the missionaries for the outbreak of the Vellore mutiny and had banned the missionary activities within its territories. It had disturbed the mercantile balance of the colony. The Serampore Mission Press was set up by Carey, Ward and Marshman for the purpose of translating religious texts and dictionaries of the various Indian languages into English. The texts in this very early phase of British Orientalism constructed an India within exotified Indological and Orientalistic terms. The texts that were being taught at the college were the mile stones within Indological studies. They reinforced the idea of the exotic within the Orient.

Moreover the texts that were prescribed were translated and taught to exercise modes of control. The texts in history and the law codes held prime importance in the fields of study. Alexander Dow's translation of the *The History of Hindustan*[110] examined India up to the Mughals. James Frazer had brought out *The History of Nadir Shah.*[111] The emphasis on history is noted from 1784 C.E. onwards. The period from 1784 C.E. to 1835 C.E. is crucially important for the development of the historical method with the publishing of the *Asiatick Researches* at the Asiatic society. James Princep and later Alexander Cunningham under the patronage of Lord Canning oversaw the establishment of the Archaeological Survey of India which systematically mapped and recorded archaeological sites.

The College also taught native law and native jurisprudence. The syllabus included courses in Hindu and Muslim law. The implementation of law had to recognise the local conditions. The translation of the law books along with the training in law equipped the administrators for the management of the revenue in the districts. Moreover law was essential not just in maintaining law and order but also to address problems in the issues of the land management which had led to the problems of the Permanent Settlement and the collection of revenue. Separate cutcheries and courts had been set up to handle the native and the British cases. Hence we find the reason for the publication of the *Codes of Manu* by William Jones and *The Code of Gentoo Laws* by Nathaniel Halhed. The British could not trust the interpretations of the local law by the pundits and the maulvis.

The college institutionalised the study of law precisely for this reason. The College of Fort William had to be closed down.The decision was taken on the 4th May, 1830 by the Governor General in council. Wellesley mentions:

> *....from the first proximo the three Professorships of the college of Fort William shall be abolished and the lectures to the students to be discontinued.*[112]

The College was officially 'dissolved' on the 24th, January 1854 by Lord Dalhousie. The reasons for the closure were the heavy expenditure that was incurred on the teaching departments on account of the salaries of the professors and the publications that were brought out of the college. The role of the study of Indian languages was not considered to be a high priority by the administrators nor was an academic exercise of this kind profitable for the company.

The College of Fort William has attracted a number of commentaries [113]. Sisir kumar Das's *Sahibs and Munshi's* is one of the few full length studies on the College of Fort William. David Koph and Bernard Cohn also have written on the College. Sisir

Kumar Das mentions that the college was a language study centre and not a centre for Oriental studies. He does not connect the college with the whole process of Orientalism and Oriental production. He mentions that the centre did not produce works of a literary merit rather it helped in the development of prose literature. Bernard Cohn mentions a methodology which he terms as investigative modalities which extended into various forms and methods to understand colonialism. It was not just of a literary nature. Cohn too while mapping the history of the college does not connect it with the body of Orientalism.[114] He studies the college in a wider framework as forms of imperial control and management. David Koph connects the College of Fort William as an Orientalising centre but not in the polemics of the term Orientalism used today. [115]

The establishment of the College of Fort William represented the first institutionalised attempt at training, teaching and the dissemination of Indian languages. There was a publication department and a qualified staff also which oversaw it. The students who undertook their studies here eventually went on to manage the districts. The College represents the juncture where the British after the initial conquests got down to understanding the problems and the requirements of governance. The translation of India involved a methodology which Bernard Cohn has described as the investigative modalities.[116] He mentions seven modalities which were employed in the construction and the codification of India. The modalities according to Cohn were

(1) The Historiographic Modality.

(2) The Observational Modality.

(3) Travel Modality.

(4) The Survey Modality.

(5) The Enumerative Modality.

(6) The Museological Modality.

(7) The Surveillance Modality.

The Historiographical modality was employed by a series of “enquiries” into the past of India, the construction of native rule and its history. The questions which were related to revenue saw an elaborate procedure into the act of revenue assessment and collection. It also involved a systematic mapping of the local and the larger histories. The local histories concentrated on regions and the larger histories sought to make sense into the ‘act of providence’ by which the control of India was acquired. This notion of detail led to the histories by Alexander Dow, Robert Orm, Charles Grant, James Mill and James Tod. Bernard Cohn also mentions ‘popular histories’, like the experiences of the Black Hole of Calcutta. Experiences of the war at Shrirangapatnam and the fall of Tipu Sultan could be added to this as also the numerous personal accounts of the 1857 Uprising which had captivated the British imagination.

India was also a site of the ‘fantastic’ and it was reflected in numerous travel accounts. All the accounts enumerate the region, the fauna, the vegetation, the produce, the people and the rajas. The people are not particularised but rather there are references to the cultural practices of the Zenana and domestic help. Journals by Edward Terry, Fanny Parks, Margaret Nugget and Emilie Eden translated India into a series of vignettes which enquire into the social practices of the region and times.

The Travel Modality involved the Observational. The Observational modaslity categorised the objects that were viewed in terms of its ‘novelty’ and set cultural practices like the holy men, the practice of hook swinging, descriptions of holy sites, river ghats and reflections on acts like sati.

The role of trade and revenue collection which needed a description of the land and revenue measures required a detailed knowledge of topography. As noted with the formation and the growth of the Imperial Gazetteers the land routes were surveyed and the first attempts at cartography were attempted. The surveys initiated by Clive and Wellesley brought out a complete picture of the topography of India. It went on to some very scientific attempts like the Great Trigonometrical Survey and the exploration of the Himalayan areas. These surveys led to conservation policies and the mapping of archeological sites and the Archeological Survey of India under Cunningham.

The surveys brought out a lot of data and the tabulation of India took place which within the gazetteers; brought out vital information for the management of districts. The Enumerative Modality led to census reports, revenue and land settlement reports and as Cohn mentions it brought out and objectified 'the cultural and the linguistic differences among the peoples of India'.

The role of the surveys and observational modes led to the development of museums. India was painted in a tradition called 'Company Art' and a visible record of the Maharajas and landscapes were made. Moreover curios and objects from different parts of India were installed in a centralised place or a museum to bring about a consolidated image of India. This Museological Modality constructed the Indian Museum at Calcutta through the efforts of the Asiatic Society. It also led to conservation projects through the efforts of Alexander Cunningham and Captain Mackenzie.

The role of the surveillance modality brings out the British preoccupation with the fringes of the Indian population. The British India followed a colonial hierarchy which controlled the sociological set up within the Indian princely states and the

population. There was also an internal hierarchy within the British which regulated social behaviour. The Indian Civil Service constantly clashed with the officers of the other services in matters of precedence. This hierarchy was also noted in the homes and the private spaces of the British. The fringes of society were the Tribals and the criminal elements. Elaborate procedures were initiated which involved policing the areas. This led to the anti thugee movement by Colonel Skeeman and the 'Notification' of Tribes and Communities as the 'Notified Criminal Tribes and Communities'.

The modalities bring out the manner by which India was translated and the huge effort that was involved by generations of administrative officers. The modalities created India and it initiated set procedures which are still being followed in administering India. The census operations and surveillance measures are still in force. The District Collector and the administrative and revenue features still follow the colonial administrative structures. India is being translated by the Government of India using the old colonial modalities even today.

NOTES

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[2] *Historical records of the Survey of India*, ed. R.H.Phillimore, Vol.1, (London: Surveyor General of India, 1945) 7.

[3] Phillimore, 17-21.

[4] Phillimore, 86-91, 93, 101.

[5] Phillimore, 91-93.

[6] Phillimore,120

[7] Phillimore, 38-40

[8] Phillimore, 40-42, 59-62

[9] Phillimore, 109-110

[10] Phillimore, 112-113

[11] Phillimore,125-128

[12] Phillimore,128-130

[13] Phillimore, 112-118

[14] Phillimore, 20, 78-82

[15] Phillimore, 57-58

[16] Phillimore, 57-58

[17] Phillimore, 389-393

[18] *Historical records of the Survey of India*, ed. R.H.Phillimore, Vol.2, (London: Surveyor General of India, 1950) 162-163.

[19] Phillimore, 162-163.

[20] William Hunter, *Plan for the Imperial Gazetteer of India*. (Calcutta, 1870) 2.

[21] Hunter, 9.

[22] Hunter, 10.

[23] Hunter, 11.

[24] William Hunter published a large number of gazetteers. The list is as below :

(a) William Hunter, *Plan for an Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 1870.

(b) *Statistical Account of Bengal*, 20 Vols, 1879.

(c) *Statistical Account of Assam, 2* Vols, 1879.

(d) *First edition of the Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol.1-IX, 1881.

(e) *The First Edition of the Indian Empire* (Its History, Peoples and Products), 1882.

(f) *The Second edition of the Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vols*. 1-XIV, 1886.

(g) *Second edition of the Indian Empire, (Its History, Peoples and Products)*, 1886.

(h) *Third Edition of the Indian Empire (Its history, peoples and products),* 1893.

[25] S.B.Chaudhuri, *History of the Gazetteers in India, (*New Delhi: Govt. of India, 1964) 92.

[26] William Hunter, *The Indian Empire (*London, 1882).

[27] S.B.Chaudhuri, *History of the Gazetteers in India.* (New Delhi: Govt. of India, 1964).

[28] Lord Curzon, "To Walter Hamilton", No.287 of 1900, Home Department Public-A proceedings, Shimla Records 1, NAI, Hamilton and Curzon Correspondence, 30th August, 1900. 89-91.

[29] Lord Curzon, "To Walter Hamilton", No.85 of 1901, Home Department proceedings, Shimla Records, NAI, Hamilton and Curzon Correspondence, 5th September, 1901, 115.

[30] Walter Hamilton, "To Lord Curzon", No.197-240 of 1902, Home Department, Public-A Proceedings, Shimla Records-1, NAI, Hamilton and Curzon Correspondence, 7th March, 1902-115.

[31] H.H.Risley, "To Lord Curzon", Home Department Proceedings, Shimla Records, NAI, 13th July 1901, 52.

[32] H.H.Risley, "To Lord Curzon", Home Department Proceedings, Shimla Records, NAI, 13th July 1901, 60.

[33] H.H.Risley, "To Lord Curzon", Home Department, Public-A Proceedings, Shimla Records 1, NAI, Hamilton and Curzon Correspondence, 17th March, 1902. 63-64.

[34] Lord Curzon, "To Walter Hamilton and H.H.Risley", Home Department Public-A Proceedings, Shimla Records-1, NAI, Hamilton and Curzon Correspondence, 21st March, 1902. 65.

Also see the Note recorded on 21st August, 1902 in the Home Department Public-A Proceedings, Shimla Records-1, 21st August, 1902 and the Confidential Circular No.2948-60, Shimla Records-1 dated 24th September, 1902.

[35] Home Department Proceedings, Shimla Records 1, NAI, No.3371-83, File No.253, 1902. 355.

[36] Home Department Proceedings, Shimla Records 1, NAI No.193, File No.2508-20. 16-19.

[37] *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1st February, 1814.

[38] *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1st February, 1814.

[39] *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1st February, 1814.

[40] *The Indian Museum* 1814-1914 (1914; Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 2004) 2.

[41] James Princep's *Letter Advocating for a National Museum.* See *The Indian Museum 1814-1914* (1914; Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 2004) Slide 27.

[42] An Act No.XVII of 1866 to provide for the establishment of a Public Museum at Calcutta (Calcutta: Governor General of India in Council, 1866).

[43] *The Indian Museum 1814-1914.* Appendix-I (1914; Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 2004) i.

[44] *The Indian Museum 1814-1914.* Appendix-I (1914; Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 2004) iv.

[45] *The Indian Museum 1814-1914.* Appendix-I (1914; Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 2004) iv.

[46] *The Indian Museum 1814-1914.* Appendix-I (1914; Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 2004) iv.

[47] *The Indian Museum 1814-1914.* Appendix-I (1914; Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 2004) iv.

[48] *The Indian Museum 1814-1914.* Appendix-I (1914; Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 2004) ii.

[49] An Act No.XXII of 1876 to provide for the establishment of a public museum at Calcutta (Calcutta: Governor General of India in Council, 1876) vi. See *The Indian Museum 1814-1914* Appendix-I (1914; Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 2004) vi.

[50] *The Indian Museum 1814-1914.* Appendix-I (1914; Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 2004) vii.

[51] *The Indian Museum 1814-1914.* Appendix-I (1914; Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 2004) viii.

[52] *The Indian Museum 1814-1914.* Appendix-I (1914; Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 2004) i.

[53] Act No.IV of 1887, (Calcutta: Goveror General in Council, 1887) 12. See the *Indian Museum 1814-1914* (1914; Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 2004) xii.

[54] An Act No.X of 1910 to consolidate and to amend the law relating to the Indian Museum (Calcutta: Governor General of India in Council, 1910) xiv.

See *The Indian Museum 1814-1914*, appendix I (1914; Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 2004) xiv.

[55] An Act No.X of 1910 to consolidate and to amend the law relating to the Indian Museum (Calcutta: Governor General of India in Council, 1910) xiv.

[56] See *The Indian Museum 1814-1914*, appendix I (1914; Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 2004) xvii.

[57] *The Indian Musuem*, xvii.

[58] *The Indian Museum 1814-1914* (1914; Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 2004) 29-30.

[59] *The Indian Museum 1814-1914* (1914; Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 2004) 38-39.

[60] *The Indian Museum 1814-1914* (1914; Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 2004) 47.

[61] *The Indian Museum 1814-1914* (1914; Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 2004) 50.

[62] *The Indian Museum 1814-1914* (1914; Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 2004) 49.

[63] *The Indian Museum 1814-1914* (1914; Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 2004) 57.

[64] *The Indian Museum 1814-1914* (1914; Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 2004) 59.

[65] *The Indian Museum 1814-1914* (1914; Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 2004) 61.

[66] *The Indian Museum 1814-1914* (1914; Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 2004) 63.

[67] *The Indian Museum 1814-1914* (1914; Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 2004) 65.

68 *The Indian Museum 1814-1914* (1914; Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 2004) 59.

69 Alexander Cunningham, Preface, *Four Reports: Made during the years 1862-63-64-65* (Shimla, 1871) xviii.

70 Alexander Dow, History of Hindostan (London, 1770).

71 Alexander Cunningham, *Preface, Four Reports: Made during the years 1862-63-64-65* (Shimla, 1871) i.

72 Alexander Cunningham, *Preface, Four Reports: Made during the years 1862-63-64-65* (Shimla, 1871) i.

73 Alexander Cunningham, *Preface, Four Reports: Made during the years 1862-63-64-65* (Shimla, 1871) vii.

74 Alexander Cunningham, *Preface, Four Reports: Made during the years 1862-63-64-65* (Shimla, 1871) ii.

75 Alexander Cunningham, *Preface, Four Reports: Made during the years 1862-63-64-65* (Shimla, 1871) iii.

76 Alexander Cunningham, *Preface, Four Reports: Made during the years 1862-63-64-65* (Shimla, 1871) iii.

77 Alexander Cunningham, *Preface, Four Reports: Made during the years 1862-63-64-65* (Shimla, 1871) iv.

78 Alexander Cunningham, *Preface, Four Reports: Made during the years 1862-63-64-65* (Shimla, 1871) iv.

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Also see *Asiatic Journal* Vol.13 (Calcutta : 1822) 242-49, John Philippart, *The East India Military Calendar; containing the services of general and field officers of the Indian Army*, 3 Vols. (London : 1826). See Volume 3, pp.310-31, See *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* Vol.1 (London, 1834) 333-64.

[80] O.P.Kejariwal, *The Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Discovery of India's Past 1784-1838* (Delhi, OUP, 1988).

[81] Kejariwal, 133.

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[83] Mathew Edney, *Mapping An Empire: The Geographical construction of British India 1765-1843* (1997; Chicago: Uni. of Chicago; New Delhi: OUP, 1999) 45.

[84] Mathew Edney, 47.

[85] Mathew Edney, 47.

[86] Mathew Edney, 43.

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[88] James, Princep, "*On the Greek Coins", Journal of the Asiatic society of Bengal, Vol.1* (Asiatic Society: Calcutta, n.p.) 27.

[89] *Institutes of Hindu Law or, the Ordination of Menu according to the gloss of Cullica,* trans. William Jones (Calcutta: Printed by order of Government, 1794).

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[92] Chakravarthi, 144.

[93] Chakravarthi, 145.

[94] Chakravarthi, 146.

[95] Chakravarthi, 146.

[96] Chakravarthi, 146-147.

[97] Chakravarthi, 156-157.

[98] Chakravarthi, 156.

[99] Sisir Kumar Das, *Sahibs and Munshis: An account of the College of Fort William* (Calcutta: Oion, 1978) 82.

[100] Das, 160.

[101] *The Calcutta Gazette*, 29th September, 1798.

[102] See the statutes of the College of Fort William in Bengal, Chapter 3, Paragraphs xvii and xix in the T.Roebuck, *The Annals of the College of Fort William* (Calcutta,1819). Also see *List of Documents on Calcutta*, ed.Adhir Chakravarthi, Vol.1, (1764-1800) (Calcutta: Govt. of West Bengal, 1997) 143.

[103] Chakravarthi, 258, See the statues, chapter 8, paragraph ix in T.Roebuck, *Annals of the College of Fort William* (Calcutta, 1819).

[104] Chakravarthi, 272. See the Rules and Regulations of the College of Fort William, June 23rd, 1841 in T. Roebuck, *Annals of the College of Fort William (*Calcutta, 1819).

[105] Chakravarthi, 272. See Rules and Regulations of the College of Fort William, June 23, 1841 in T. Roebuck, *Annals of the College of Fort William* (Calcutta, 1819).

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[107] William Carry, *Ramayana* (Serampore: Mission Press, n.d.).

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[109] Natheniel Halhed, *A Grammar of the Bengal Language.* Facsimile reprint (1778, England: The Scolar Press, 1969).

[110] Alexander Dow, *History of Hindostan* (London, 1770).

[111] James Frazer, James Frozer was in Surat at the time of the sacking of Delhi. It is the only contemporary account of Nadir Shah in English during the period.

[112] Sisir Kumar Das, *Sahibs and Munshis: An account of The College of Fort William* (Calcutta: Orion, 1978) 100.

[113] Sisir Kumar Das's *Sahibs and Munshis* and Edward Said's *Orientalism* were published in 1978 in the same year. David Koph published *The British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance: The dynamics of Indian modernization 1773-1835* in 1969. These publications came out earlier than the prevailing debates on Orientalism today. Bernard Cohn's *Colonizalism and its forms of knowledge: The British in India* was published in 1996.

[114] Bernard Cohn, *The Bernard Cohn Omnibus (*New Delhi: OUP, 2004).

[115] David Koph, *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance. The dynamics of India Modernization 1773-1835* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: California, U.P., 1969).

[116] Bernard Cohn, *The Bernard Cohn Omnibus, Colonialism and its forms of knowledge: The British in India* (New Delhi: OUP, 2004) 5-15.

Chapter-4

Resisting Representation and Representing Resistance

The 'translation' of India had an oscillation from facts, figures and history; to the realm of the imagination. The components of Orientalism to a large extent were imaginative in nature. This imagination was reflected and translated into plays, poetry and essays. Eastern riches and opulence was reflected throughout the European renaissance and the English reformation. *Tamburlaine*[1] by Christopher Marlow, the Eastern interests in Shakespeare, Coleridge's *Kubla Khan*[2] and the romances of Voltaire were commented on and the influence continued in the works of Maria Corelli, Colonel Meadows Taylor and Rudyard Kipling. India was especially the focus in the works of Meadows and Kipling.

The subject matter of these romances was present on the accounts of India. India and its history and culture were woven into the fabric of fiction to bring about works like *The Confessions of the Thug*[3], *Seeta* [4], *Tara: The tale of the Maratha War* [5] *and Tippoo: A tale of the Mysore War* [6] by Meadows. India was reflected in *Kim* [7] by Rudyard Kipling and *A Passage to India* [8] by E.M. Forster. The late 70's also saw a Raj syndrome with a great deal of Raj maternal being produced and reprinted. The fiction of the 19th century India was written by many writers all over India in practically all the Indian languages. This fiction contested for a space as against the fiction written by the British on India.

Henry Louis Vivian Derozio (1809-1831) has been recognised by major historians to have originated Indian writing in English. He is also recognised to be among the earliest poets writing in English Derozio is also regarded as a part of the Indian Renaissance. These readings on Derozio are taken by his proximity with the

young Bengal Movement, his ideas on social reform and his tenure as a professor of English at the Hindoo College. Derozio is also constructed as one of the earliest nationalistic poets in the literary scene of 19th century India. Shrinivas Iyengar, [9] M.K.Naik, [10] and Niranjan Mohanty, [11] examine Derozio with the nationalistic framework and as one of the poets with a nationalistic tinge. This interpretation of Derozio rests on three poems *The Harp of India, My country in thy day of glory past and the Sonnet addressed to the students of Hindoo College* which Derozio published in the Bengal Annual for 1831.[12]

Derozio in the poem *The Harp of India* mentions the state of decline of the country and the source of its inherent regeneration. The poem reads:

Why Long'st thou lonely on you
    Withered bough?
Unstrung, for ever, must thou
    there remain?
They music once was sweet –
    who hears it now?
Why doth the breeze sigh over
    thee in vain? –
Silence hath bound the with
    her fatal chain ;
Neglected, mute and desolate art thou,
Like ruined movement on desert plain:-
O! manya hand more worthy
    for than mine
Once thy harmonious chords to
    sweetness gave,
And many a wreath for them
    did Fame entwine
Of flowers still blooming on the
    minstrel's grave:

Those hands are cold-but if
thy notes divine
May be by mortal wakened
once again,
Harp of my country, let me strike the strain! [13]

The poem brings out the advent and the effects of modernity in Bengal and the country. Modernity was characterised by the role of education and a gradual awareness of the enlightenment knowledge which brought about a greater emphasis on history and rationality. The establishment of the Hindoo College in Kolkatta and the rise of the knowledge of English; through the establishment of schools, especially by the Calcutta Education Society, and schools by David Drummond and David Hare brought about a revolution in the idea of primary education. English was also seen to be a mode of advancement of the British East India Company and the British Government after 1857 laid emphasis on the language for administrative employment. The realization of the future of India and the change in the present via the modernity modes; brought about an intense sense of self reflection about India and her past. This was also due to the efforts of the Orientalists and their translation projects which gave a sense of history to India and her people.

Emphasis had been placed on the glorious past of India. This was done through the publication and linguistic research into Indology and Vedic studies. The educated elite had absorbed this and had also absorbed the arguments of the Indian decay politically and culturally in the present. The nineteenth century India in a sense of decay is reflected in the poem *The Harp of India*. Derozio mentions the translation project when he wants to ‘dive into the depths of time, and bring out the ages that have rolled’. The poem titled *My Country, in thy day of Glory Past* brings out the popular imagery within British historiography regarding the State of India.

The poem reads:

My Country, in thy day of glory
past
A beauteous halo circled around
thy brow,
And worshipped as a diety
though wast –
Where is that glory, where that
reverence now?
Thy eagle pinion is chained
down at last,
And grovelling in the lowly
dust art thou :
Thy ministrel hath no wreath
to weave for thee
Save the sad story of thy
misery! –
Well – let me dive into the
depths of time,
And bring out the ages
that have rolled
A few small fragments of
those wrecks sublime,
Which human eye may never
more behold;
And let the guardian of my
labour be
My fallen country! One kind wish for thee! [14]

The Harp of India and *My Country! in thy day of glory past* are studies in time. Both of them refer to the problems of perception of the self and identity in the nineteenth century. There is a sense of loss regarding India's past. This is constantly

contrasted to the present where the scene is dismal. There is a questioning for the reverence now. There is also an acceptance of the fact that the country has ‘fallen’ and it needs to regenerate. Derozio mentions in the poem *‘The Harp of India’* his personal contribution to the rise. He mentions.

‘Harp of my country, let me strike the strain’.[15]

The contribution of Derozio lies with the young Bengal movement. The young Bengal Movement was a revolutionary change within the youth of Bengal. Derozio was forced to resign from Hindoo College as a result of his teachings and lectures which encountered high resistance from the people of Kolkata. Derozio was a Eurasian of a mixed Portuguese descent. He had brought about the enlightenment inquiry among his students especially in terms of traditions and modes of worship. The huge public uproar had followed as the students had rebelled against tradition. This had encroached upon the private space of the home and there was a resistance against the public sphere constricting the private space. The uproar was reflected in the prohibition orders issued against the students of the Hindoo College by the College management. The document mentions:

> The Managers of the Anglo-Indian College having heard that several of the students are in the habit of attending societies at which political and religious discussions are held (the discussions which led to the first reform Bill were agitating the band of lads influenced by Derozio) think it necessary to announce their strong disapprobation of the practice, and to prohibit its continuance. Any students being present at such a society after the promulgation of this order will incur their serious displeasure.[16]

The prohibition order was issued as twenty five pupils had been withdrawn from the College.[17] A special meeting of the Directors of the Hindoo College had

been called where the conduct of Derozio was analysed and criticised. The proceedings state:

> The object of convening this meeting is the necessity of checking the growing evil and the public alarm arising from the very unwarranted arrangement and misconduct of a certain teacher in whom great many children have been instructed, who it appears has naturally injured their morals and introduced some strange system, the tendency of which is the destruction to their moral character and to peace in society..... Mr. Derozio being the root of all evils and cause of public alarm should be discharged from the college and all communication, between him and the pupils be cut off.[18]

The advent of modernity had a twofold effect on the general public. One one hand it was welcomed as a positive change in their perception of India and on the other hand it was also viewed with suspicion, especially where religion was concerned. It culminated in the Indian mutiny two decades later in 1857. The Hindoo College management in a show of resistance had decided that Derozio was unfit for the job of teaching at the institution. The meeting proceedings mention:

> Whether the managers had any just grounds to conclude that the moral and religious tenets of Mr Derozio as far as ascertainable from the effects they have produced upon his scholars are such as to render him an improper person to be entrusted with the education of youth.[19]

Among the people who were present on the committee there were mixed reactions against Derozio. Baboo Chundro Coomar, Baboo Radha Kanta Deb, Baboo Radhamadhub Banerjee, Baboo Ramcomul Sen were against the status of Derozio as a professor of Hindoo college. Baboo Russomoy Dutt, Baboo Prasana Coomar Tagore and Baboo Srikishen Singh had seen nothing wrong with the conduct of Derozio;

though in the end they recognised his dismissal as expedient. Mr. H. H. Wilson the Asiatic Society Orientalist and David Hare declined to vote. [20] On an unanimous decision it was decided that Henry Derozio needed to be dismissed. [21]

In a letter dated 25th April 1831 Derozio had protested against his dismissal to H. H. Wilson. [22] In the letter Derozio expressed his dismay against the 'intemperate spirit' of the native managers. In a letter dated 25th April, 1831 Derozio had mentioned in his resignation to the Managing Committee of the Hindoo College.

> It would however be unjust to my reputation, which I have, where I to abstain from recording in this communication certain facts, which I presume do not appear upon the face of your proceedings. Firstly, no charge was brought against me. Secondly, if any accusation was brought forward I was not informed of it. Thirdly, I was not called up to face my accusers, if any such appeared. Fourthly, no witnesses were examined on either side. Fifthly my conduct and character underwent scrutiny, and no opportunity was afforded me of depending either. Sixthly, while a majority of the committee did not, as I have learned, consider me an unfit person to be connected with the college, it was resolved, not withstanding, that I should be removed from it.... [23]

Derozio's dismissal was a part of the resistance rubric by the Indians in Calcutta. The resistance brings out the deep antipathy and suspicion towards the motion of modernity that had been initiated. There is a deep sense of ambivalence in the reception of modernity. One one hand it was welcomed as a positive change of progress and one the other hand it was attacked and resisted as being against traditional values.

Derozio's world view also needs to be examined within his Eurasian heritage. The Eurasion community had been the most marginalized within the British Indian

society. They were excluded from all appointments within the government service and were not permitted to join the army also. This had resulted in the establishment of irregular infantry, like the Skinner's horse which was established by Colonel James Skinner. The Eurasians were also denied all civil rights and separate representation in legal matters. They considered themselves to be British subjects but were tried under Hindu or Mohammedan law. There was an education system in place where the Eurasian children studied in British schools. Even after being educated the scope for employment was very low. This brought about a lot of resentment in the Anglo Indian community.

The Anglo Indian Eurasian community had sent Mr. J. W. Ricketts as an agent to present their petition to the British Parliament. A meeting had been held at the Town Hall in Kolkata on the 28th March, 1831. The Eurasian Community also known as the East Indian Community then had felicitated Mr. Ricketts. A second meeting to approve the draft of the second petition to Parliament had been held on the 1st July, 1831.Derozio had addressed the gathering. The proceedings mention regarding the problems faced by the East Indian Community.

> These grievances were of two kinds, political and legal, but it has been said, that they were seeking for privileges to which Europeans, and Hindoos and Mohummudans were ineligible. The petition stated that they were without any code of civil law.... The law whatever the practice might be was unsuited to their condition for it regarded them as Hindoos and Mohummudans; but in what did they assimilate? Their conduct, habits, thoughts, usages and feelings were totally dissimilar; and was it to be said in the nineteenth century, that in legislating for a whole body, it could be just to place them under laws totally unsuited to

> their circumstances? It surely could not be considered a great privilege to be placed under British law. [24]

The concept of social reform in 19th century India needs to bring in the idea of social reform within the East Indian Community also. The community was concerned by its marginalization in law, civil rights and social status. They were more marginalized than the Indians and the Muslims in India by their exclusion from all social structures.

The Draft of the East Indians second petition was approved on the 27th June, 1831. The draft presents the Eurasians as the residents of India and their status as practicing Christians. The draft mentions their problems regarding the skepticism regarding their Christian faith also. The petition mentions :

> That your petitioners consist : first, of those, or descendants of those, who have been out of wedlock of native mothers, and who, although of Christian fathers, and united with Christians in faith, in language, in habits, in manners, in feelings, and in opinions are yet regarded in the eye of the law as without the pale of Christianity. Secondly, that your petitioners consist of those, or of the descendants of those, who though of native descent (some entirely, and some partially) and born in wedlock, profess the Christian religion, and are assimilated to Christian by education, feelings, manners, and opinions, but are in like manner, regarded by the law as aliens to the Christian faith. [25]

The marginilization within society did not bring about a resistance in the form of nationalism as was the case with the Indians. The East Indian Community considered itself as British in blood and spirit and demanded a uniform law. The petition argues that the Hindus are governed in civil matters under the Hindu law, the Muslims by the Mohammedan law, the criminal acts by Hindus and Muslims were judged by the Mohammedan law while the British subjects were governed by the law of England.

The British subjects had to be recognized by the British legislature. [26] The East Indian community the petition argues was neither Hindu nor Muslims and was completely excluded from the benefits of the law of England. [27] Thus the East Indian petition argued was abhorrent to their feelings and degrading to their characters, as contradistinguishing them from their Christian brethren. [28] The petition mentions their being excluded from the Civil, Military and the Marine services of the East India Company and in the subordinate employments like the Judicial, revenue and the police departments. [29] The petition also mentions the general order dated 27th February, 1808 by the Commander in Chief of the British Army, which excluded the East Indian Community from holding His Majesty's Commission in the British Indian Army. [30]

This petition brings out the Eurasian world view of Derozio and his poems like the *Harp of India* does not refer to the beginnings of the Nationalistic movement in India; but rather as an ambivalent response to the East Indian condition and a wish for modernity to transform India; both in a cultural sense and a political sense. A country as a cultural signifier refers to the sense of a community and its fundamental and human rights. The East Indian Community was denied these rights and was alienated within the country itself. The identification with the British as a part of the European race further compounded the problem. Henry Vivian Derozio stands at the cross-roads in the representation and resistance to the modernity principle. He contributed to the revolution in the public sentiment by moulding students who initiated the young Bengal movement and on the other hand it is a voice of a man and a community which was deeply disillusioned by the effects of modernity itself.

After Henry Vivean Derozio and his attempts at a cultural synthesis Bankimchandra Chatterji brought about a change within Indian historiography.

Derozio's vision informed by the enlightenment brought about the inconsistencies within the colonial discourse and pointed to the reformation within Indian society. Bankimchandra Chatterji attempted in the same manner to bring out the inconsistencies in their colonial rule but through the form of a militant nationalism; which was not seen with the earlier writers and poets. Though Bankimchandra brings about a change within nationalistic historiography still his vision ends with the consolidation of British rule.

Bankimchandra's *Anandmath* [31] is a landmark in the sense that it raises problems in terms of Indian history, the objectives within rationalism and its end vision and the resolution of the questions rose against the formation of Indian historiography. *Anandamath* has the famine which overtook Bengal in the 1770's C.E. The famine had brought about a huge law and order problem as the people formed bands and indulged in looting. Sir William Wilson Hunter mentions the roving bands of sanyasis who indulged in plunder... Bankimchandra modeled the Santan army in the novel on this historical setting in the 1770's C.E. Hunter mentions.

> "A set of lawless banditti", wrote the council in 1773; Known under the name of Sanyasis or Faquirs, have long infested these countries ; and, under presence of religious pilgrimage, have been accustomed to traverse the chief part of Bengal, begging, stealing, and plundering wherever they go, and as it best suits their convenience to practice". In the years subsequent to the famine, their ranks were swollen by a crowd of starving peasants who had neither seed nor implements to recommence cultivation with, and the cold weather of 1772 brought them down upon the harvest fields of Lower Bengal, burning, plundering, ravaging, " in bodies of fity thousand men". The collectors called out the military; but after a temporary success our sepoys "were at

> length totally defeated, and Captain Thomas (their leader), with almost the whole party, cut off". [32]

Bankimchandra realizes this historical framework to bring about an idea of resurgent Bengal Bankimchandra brings out resistance against the Islamic rule in Bengal. The 1770's C.E. famine in Bengal led to the devastation of the country side. Thousands of people had perished or migrated. This led to lawless activities and looting in the region. Bankimchandra situates the Santan army and the armed resistance in this historical framework.

The famine opens the setting of the novel with the description of the country side around Padacinha the small town which becomes the centre of armed resistance. The novel mentions:

> First people started to beg, soon there was no one to give alms, so they started to go hungry. Then they began to succumb to disease. Then they sold their cattle, their ploughs and cattle yokes, finished off their seed-paddy, and sold all their possessions. Then they sold their land. After this, they started selling their girl children, then the boys, and then their wives. Finally, who was there to buy the children and the wives? There were no buyers, since everyone wanted to sell. For lack of food, they began to eat the leaves of trees, and grass, and weeds. The low-caste and those who lived in the forests started to eat dogs, mice and cats. Many fled-and those who fled went to strange parts and died there of starvation, while those who remained died of disease, either because they ate the uneatable, or for want of eating at all.
>
> Then disease had its day fever, cholera, tuberculosis, smallpox, smallpox was especially rampant. They started dying of smallpox in every house. No one dared to give water to any person or to touch anyone. No one was willing

> to treat or attend to anyone or to dispose of the dead. The most beautiful bodies were left to rot by themselves in mansions. As soon as smallpox entered a house, the inhabitants abandoned the sick and ran away in fear.[33]

The anarchy which arose out of the famine leads to scenes of the armed resistance by the Santan army in the novel. The resistance is portrayed against the oppression by the Muslim nawabs of Bengal. The armed resistance is modelled on the lines of an army with the code of conduct, vows of chastity and poverty intermingling with religion. The battle against the Muslims and the British becomes a religious one with the construction of the land as the divine mother. The patriarchal God of the British evangelists and the dissemination of modernity is contrasted with the traditional depiction of the divine Durga; as the saviour of the land. The construction of the nation as a mother becomes a strategic device to combat the colonial rationality by appealing to local cultural markers of divine mother worship. The role of Durga combats the Christian evangelism that had permeated Bengal in the 19th century. The role of the divine goddess as a protector of the land is contrasted against the miscellanist rationality of the colonial discourse. Bankimchandra brings out the iconography of Hinduism against Islamic oppression in eighteenth century Bengal and as a counterfoil to the destabilizing effects of the modernity in Bengal. The destabilizing effects of modernity over rode the traditional values within Indian Society and had permeated deeply into the homes, human relationships and popular culture. Bankimchandra utilizes the historical framework of events that occurred in the eighteenth century to develop resistance against the colonial discourse in the nineteenth century.

Bankimchandra’s nationalism has been interpreted on the foundations of his construction of the nation as a divine mother. ‘Bande Mathram’ appeals to popular

consciousness and the nationalistic discourse of the 21^{st} century. Bankimchandra could not articulate the resistance against colonialism overtly. The Santan army defeats the British army but the Hindu rule is not initiated in Bengal, rather the entire motive of the Santan army is to instate the British rule in India. The ending scene of the novel brings out the dialogue between Satyananda Thakur and the Healer. The novel mentions :

> "Let us go", said Satyananda. "I am ready. But oh! Great one, resolve a doubt for me. Why is it that just when I've won the battle and freed the Eternal Code from all obstacles, I've received this command of dismissal?"
> The other replied, "Your work's been done, and Muslim rule has been destroyed. There's no more for you to do. There's no need for the pointless killing of living beings".
> "Muslim rule has been destroyed", said Satyananda, "but Hindu rule has not been established. Even now the English remain powerful in Kolkata". The other said, "Hindu rule will not be established at this time. If you remain, people will die needlessly. So, come away".
> When he heard this, a sharp pang of anguish pierced Satyananda. "Master", he said, "if Hindu rule will not be established then who will be king? Will the Muslims rule again?"
> "No", replied the other,
> "Now the English will rule". [34]

Bankimchandra displays a negotiated space at the end of the novel and he negotiated the space of overt resistance but did not articulate nationalism in the present scene. British rule becomes the answer to the Muslim oppression that had occurred in the centuries preceding the battle of Plassey. Bankimchandra by portraying the fight against the British brings out the nature of evangelism and the proselthising activities

by the missionaries in Bengal. The idea of the mother image in the novel points to the resisted space within Hindu belief and culture. Bande Manthram as a site of resistance points to the religious cultural encounter with Christianity and it's after effects in the nineteenth century. Anandmath has been examined within the nationalistic paradigm; and it has often been examined as a site of the first overt resistance against the British. The problem one encounters with this argument is connected to the idea of the nation. The British after 1858 had brought out the idea of a British India, which was a part of the British Empire. Bankimchandra points to the idea of being a part of the British Empire at the end of the novel, though it articulates religious resistance which counters the evangelical footprint in 19th century Bengal.

Keeping with the theme articulated by Bankimchandra Itacharam Suryaram Desai brings out the reconciliatory theme with the British. Itcharam wrote the first political novel in Gujarati titled *Hind And Britanina* (1885). [35] This novel articulates resistance and a negotiated space with the colonial discourse.

The novel describes the allegorical conflict between Patriotism, Hind, Britannia and Liberty. The scene begins with Patriotism lamenting the sad state of India. Hind on hearing the lament appears emaciated on a tiger Hind blames the entire issue on Britannia while Patriotism blames Hind and her ineffectual sons who have not resisted the discourse. At this moment Britannia appears from the Narbada seated on a lion. There proceeds a long discussion between Hind and Britannia where Hind blames her for all the countries ills. Britannia points out that her presence had saved the country. Hind replies that she would accept that only when all her sons had passed away. Britannia mentions that Hind should be ashamed of her valiant sons like Tippo, Jasvantrao Holkar, Nana Saheb or Tantia Tope who had reduced Britannia to dire straits through their actions. Her presence was actually beneficial for the country and

her regime better than the Mughal rulers like Aurangzeb and rulers like Mahomed of Gazni. This argument is adjucated by the appearance of Liberty. Hind demands complete liberty while Liberty points out that India does not have administrative genius or policy. Liberty brings out the middle path when she promises to ask Britannia to give the guarantee of reforms. Britannia gracefully agrees to this as Liberty promises the appearance of a deliverer in the form of Lord Ripon the Viceroy of India. Itcharam Suryaram Desai mentions in his preface to the novel his pro Britannia stance he mentions:

> The reader will still find here and there a clear leaning on the side of Britannia; and for that I have to explain that a government which, having defeated the Moghals and the Marathas, is held today in the front van of Kingdoms and rules, the greatest among nations, must be doing. So under some dispensation of God. This is, following many distinguished authorities on the subject, my belief and I think it is certainly right. As a rule Kingdoms are not obtained by fair means, and in the same way British rule in India has been established by the four well known ways of Hindu politics, peace, bribery, double dealing and imposition of fines and punishments. [36]

Itcharam Desai like Bankimchandra acknowledges the British foot print and legitimizes it as a victory for the supervisor force. This manner of viewing was fairly common with nineteenth century writings which witnessed history as a series of victories and losses; and an acknowledged rule for the victor. Itcharam mentions that the British had won playing the Hindu rules and as a result their regime could not be overtly questioned. Itcharam remarks:

> .....but in every such case fault should not be found with the rulers as, not infrequently, our own listlessness and

> Watchfulness is to blame for such miseries which, though mostly of our own creation, we are wont to lay at the door of others. [37]

Itcharam brings out the failings of the Indians and its rulers. This is a form of passive acceptance which in the contested colonial space validated the colonial rule and like Bankim there is introspection into the role of the Indian self within and before colonial rule. Itcharam acknowledges the defects and also points to the present inability of India to replace the colonial rule. Itcharam mentions in the preface:

> The Indian Aryan is typically representative of passive inaction and therefore India's best interests consist in abiding her time and seeing what happens, while keeping herself entirely dependent on Divine dispensation. [38]

Itcharam does not believe in breaking away from colonial rule. The role of waiting was echoed in *Anandmath* and is a refrain noticed in most of the nineteenth century writings. He rather acknowledges the colonial discourse of the passive Indian. There had been a combative invasion of the colonised mental space with the colonized mind being defined as the lapsed civilization and its inhabitants as weak and effeminate and as a result incapable of rule. Itcharam echoes the coloniser discourse here. Itcharam states:

> ..... it would be nothing short of dishonour for India to ever keep such a mad notion in her head of freeing herself from Britannia. After a thousand thoughts and surmises as to how India's good can be effected, after numerous discussions and after hearing the views of such wise and far sighted persons as are in a position to advice on so important a subject, we thought that the best thing India could do is to continue the benign care of British rule. [39]

Itcharam articulates resistance through the role of Hind in the novel but treads the middle path of not moving into complete revolt. Like Bankimchandra’s Anandmath it is a strategic compromise. He endorses the role of Lord Rippon as the saviour of India.

Colonel Meadows Taylor's *Confessions of a thug* [40] is a historical novel which blends history, administrative and the political problems associated with the early days of the East India Company in their quest for the suzerainty of India. The novel involves the description and the extermination of an ages old practice of ritual murder and their practitioners. Taylor mentions in the ‘introduction’ to the novel:

> The tale of crime which forms the subject of the following pages is, alas! Almost true; what there is of fiction has been supplied only to connect the events, and make the adventures of Ameer Ali as interesting as the nature of his horrible profession would permit me.
>
> I became acquainted with this person in 1832. He was one of the approvers or informers who were sent to the Nizam's territories from Saugor, and whose appalling disclosures caused an excitement in the country which can never be forgotten. I have listened to them with fearful interest, such as I can scarcely hope to excite in the minds of my readers; and I can only add, in collaboration of the ensuing story, that, by his own confessions. Which were in every particular confirmed by those of his brother informers, and are upon official record, he had been directly concerned in the murder of seven hundred and nineteen persons. He once said to me, 'Ah! Sir. If I had not been in prison twelve years, the number would have been a thousand.[41]

The story of Ameer Ali is a narrative which is narrated by Ali himself to Meadows Taylor. Ali who is an approver in the novel narrates his life and his activities to

Meadows Taylor. Meadows Taylor mentions that he was the civil in charge of the districts of Nursingpoor, in the valley of the Nermudda River during 1822-1824. Meadows Taylor sensationalises the narrative into a series of reported and confessed acts of murders which are then ritualised into a series of criminal acts. Ameer Ali describes the entire process of being a thug and the act of murder. He also describes the hereditary nature of the work its ramifications of not following the dictates and the rules of the Kali brotherhood. He finishes his narrative with a description of the imperial exercise at work and the manner with which Colonel Sleeman the Commissioner for the Suppression of Thugee and his team round up the thugs and put an end to their activities. The very nature of the title as a confession brings out the state of Ameer Ali and the end of the thugs as a cult who through the very nature of the sacramental murder differed from the other routine murderers. They ascribed a divine nature to the act of killing. The brotherhood of the thugs was governed by the principle of maternity. The Feminine maternity principle involves both the destructive elements of Kali the destroyer and the benign aspects of kali the preserver. The Kali followers bring out the aspects of blood and gore which is ritualised into worship. The importance of murder which is involved in this exercise is treated as a sacrifice to the goddess. The bulk of the money in the form of goods, clothes and vessels are treated as a benevolent act of the goddess by which the devotee is able to run the expenses of his life. The Goddess needs the sacrifice as a mode of worship. Hence sacrifice becomes a sanctioned form of the Goddess itself. The thug's ascribe the very act to the Goddess. Being divinely sanctioned it does not bring about any sense of guilt but rather it becomes a profession where once the sacramental gur or jaggery is eaten one becomes a votary of Kali and a thug for life. Ameer Ali describes his consecration ceremony which put him on the path of the thugs.

> I was then reconducted to the apartment, and the pickaxe, the holy symbol of our profession, was placed in my right hand, upon a white handkerchief. I was desired to raise it as high as my breast; and an oath, a fearful oath, was then dictated to me, which I repeated, raising my left hand into the air, and invoking the Goddess to whose service I was devoting myself. The same oath was repeated by me on the blessed Koran, after which a small piece of consecrated Goor, or coarse sugar, was given me to eat, and my inauguration was complete. My father received the congratulations of the assembly on the fortunate issue of the ceremony... [42]

Ameer Ali mentions that then there is no way out but to continue in the act of thugging as the Goddess propels the person forward into a series of ritual acts of murder. The eating of the Gur and the oath on the pickaxe become the sacramental nooses which bind the person to the act of ritual murder.

Ameer Ali's father was a high ranking thug who commanded a troop of over a hundred thugs. The thug hierarchy had separate members for the different appointed tasks. There were scouts who found the prospective victims in the market places, custom houses, serais and on the roads. They were the network of informers who brought the details of the victims. Then there were the Lughaees the grave diggers who were the specialists and buried the dead or tossed them in to the wells. The stranglers were called the Bhuttote. The top of the hierarchy were dominated by the Jemadars. They were the part of the hereditary family of thugs who had practiced this profession for generations. Any thug could aspire to be the Jamedar on producing acts of great bravery and ritual plunder.

The nature of Kali as the destructive element of the universe is a part of the Manichean duality which pervades the Hindu pantheon and religion. The duality assumes the goddess in two forms. On one hand there is the image of the benevolent

mother and on the other hand there is the image of the bloodthirsty goddess who frequents charnel grounds and takes part and is the recipient of forbidden acts of ritual. The element of Tantra which was present in the sacrificial acts of the Thugs has to be understood in this light. Tantra represents universal acts and norms of worship. There is a dichotomy between the notions of Satwik or acceptable worship which is the right handed path and the forbidden notions of tantra or aghora which is the left handed path. Both the paths assume the notion of the Goddess as a protector and a destroyer. Aghora involves the acts of sacrifice which have been transposed into the ritual acts of worship at most kali temples in India. The animal sacrifices are very common at established Kali temples within antiquity like Kali ghat at Kolkata and at the Kamakhya temple at Gauhati. Sacrifices were also very common at the Vindhyachal temple near Mirzapur in Uttar Pradesh. These centres are known for Kali and Aghora worship. The Vindhyachal deity was the patron goddess of the thugs. Aghora and the system of tantra utilised by the thugs was a complete one. They were ruled by the goddess until the very personalities were dominated by the goddess. The thugs saw the divine hand of the goddess in everything they saw or the activities that they attempted. The role of tantra blocks the casual body of a person. There are many stages of the human evolution in Tantra and many stages of the body in states of evolution. The body evolves different states in the growth towards the state of the goddess and it slowly assumes the form of the goddess itself. The final stage of any ritual is the self immersion into the ego ideal. The bodies in tantra are the casual; which dominates the normal waking states and routine activity. The final stage is the astral stage where the body transmogifies into the goddess itself. Aghora brings out the divinity in the person by slowly dehumanising the personality until the raw nature of the human being is exposed. This is often seen the descriptions of Aghoris and the practitioners of ritual

worship. There is also an element of secrecy involved in the elements of ritual tantra. This creates a secret brotherhood with its own sets of codes and language.

The images of the Thugs in 19^{th} century photographs by Felice Beato the Italian photographer who had photographed the fall and the ruins of Delhi after the 1857 uprising and the drawings made by a series of Indian artists and painters in the British museum show two things which are held sacred by the thugs. The photos and drawings bring out the manner of the strangling by the 'Roomal' or the handkerchief and the presence of the pickaxe. The 'Roomal' or the handkerchief was a piece of cloth which was used by the Bhuttote or the stranglers for the throttling of the victims. After the death of the victims the body was slit in the stomach so that it did not bloat after burial and eyes were pierced by knives to ensure death. The Roomal becomes the extension of the noose in the imagery of Kali. Kali is depicted as a blue goddess with four hands. She carries a sword and a noose in the upper arms and scissors and a skull in the two lower arms. The scissors image varies in the various depictions of Kali but the other three implements are a part of the standard imagery. The noose signifies the final act of liberation and the scissors the act of awareness. The sword brings out the destructive and the avenging Kali and the skull reminds one and all of the final reality of death. The strangling by the 'Roomal' or the cloth was a later adaptation of the noose as it was easier to conceal about the person when with a group. The noose was the preferred mode of strangling in the early accounts Thugee. The thugs not only exterminated life but they believed by the extension of Kali's hand the 'Roomal' would actually bring about deliverance or a state of Moksha to the victims. This ideology behind the practice was normally forgotten in the act of plundering the victims belongings and was interpreted as plain murder by Colonel Sleeman and his band of the Thug hunters. Interestingly the thugs considered stealing to be a vice and a mode of living that was beneath their

contempt. The plunder had to be through the act of ritual murder. They would not touch any valuables that had been stolen. Hence the plunder got through the act of ritual murder was not tainted by the act of robbery but rather had a divine sanction.

The identification of the person is so entwined with the goddess during this stage of ritual worship that all acts can and are ascribed to the goddess itself. Hence during the acts of sacrificial worship the devotee and the practitioner become the goddess itself and hence identify the act of sacrificial killing as an act of the goddess herself. The thug becomes the goddess in the final ecstasy of the act of the sacrificial killing. This does not bring out the negative effects of the actions and it does not bring out the element of guilt that is present in the acts itself. Ameer Ali mentions:

> I can never persuade you that I was fully authorised to commit them, and only a humble instrument in the hands of Ali. Did I kill one of those persons? No! It was He. Had my roomal been a thousand times thrown about their necks and the strength of an elephant in my arms, could I have done aught,- would they have died,-without it was His will? [43]

The thugs through their actions of sanctioned human sacrifice do not hold themselves responsible for their actions but ascribe it to the divine mother itself; who send them for the purpose. She also is responsible for the identification of the victims and finding the victims on the roads of Hindustan and the Deccan. The thugs operated through an elaborate system of omens. The hare and the owl were the worst omens that could happen and every act and action taken including the choice of the roads was taken according to the omens. The owl hoots on the last mission of Ameer Ali and is captured as a result. Ameer Ali regards his capture to his disregarding the omens and as a result he believes that Kali or Bhawani had withdrawn her favour from him. He had faced prison for twelve years with the Maharaja of Jalone before being captured by the

British. Bhawani was venerated both by the Hindu thugs and the Muslim thugs. There was a feeling of fraternity with these thugs as far as their religion was concerned. The notion of religion and difference did not touch this community. Ameer Ali partakes in the Gur ceremony and the Taponi ritual of Kali. The pick axe is also worshipped as a sacred implement of their trade according to the Hindu rituals.

The activity of the thugs was connected to the condition of the land and the geopolitical system that was prevalent in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. The gradual decline of the Mughal Empire after Aurangzeb (1658-1707) had brought about a state of anarchy in the country. The Mughal Empire till the era of Aurangzeb had extended to the Deccan. The Deccan had been conquered for the first time by Aurangzeb during his Maratha campaign. The Mughals after Aurangzeb could not control the empire resulting in the break away by the Governer of the Deccan who went on to become the Nizam of Hyderabad and the growth of the Maratha satraps like the Gaikwad of Baroda, Jaswant Rao Holkar of Indore , Mahadjee Sindhia of Gwalior and the growth of the Peshwas in Pune: This was also the time of the Pindari upraising in the Narmada Valley with Chittu Pindari and their marauding marches and skirmishes into the Deccan and the rise of Mysore with Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan. All of them had been subjugated by the British through a series of wars and alliances.

The end results of these uncertain times were that the conditions of travel had become unsafe. Ameer Ali is shown to operate in the areas of Hyderabad, Beedar, Ellichpur, Sagour, Ujjain and the Narmada districts. He is also shown to be in Pune for a while. Edward Thornton mentions the state of the roads in the surveys that were conducted in the collection of the information for the District Gazetteer. [44] There was also a large movement of goods and money in the form of cash, gold and jewels which went on in the form of trade and payments to distant places and ports all over India. The unsafe roads were a major problem for the security of the people and there were a

large number of Thug bands which moved along these roads and simply murdered them. The travellers were never heard of again. A large number of the victims were dumped in the wells that were in the fields on the sides of the roads and the rest were buried. The bodies had been discovered in the course of time and there was a lot of concentration on the same. There had not been many inquiries regarding the appearance of the bodies in the wells and the apparent disappearance of the people. Initially it was ascribed to the wild animal's which abounded through the jungle paths. Not much was noted about the appearance of the dead bodies from that surrounding ravines and rivers and wells. It was thought in the early 1800's that the travellers had accidentally fallen into the wells. John Fryer mentions on his experiences in the Deccan where he had encountered stranglers who had been captured and they were executed. There was not the slightest sense of remorse on the deaths of the victims.[45]

Most of the Thugs claimed a genealogy of their own.[46] Ameer Ali claimed that his was a hereditary profession and he himself was the adopted son. His present father who brought him up had been a Jemedar the highest rank in the thug hierarchy and he had murdered his parents and had brought him up as a part of his family. Ameer Ali does not bear any rancour to this fact when narrating the events to Colonel Meadows. In fact he attributes this to the act and the hand of fate which made him in this way. This was true in many thug families which frequently had children who were adopted or because the thug did not have the heart to kill the babies. Wiw Hunter had referred to the thug genealogies which extended to at least 20 generations. This made the thugs to have a history of nearly 800 years. William Sleeman [47] while tracing the genealogy of the notorious thug Feringeea had traced his genealogy to eight generations.

The British had a major problem in encountering these gangs. William Sleeman the District Magistrate had long recognised the potential danger of these gangs. He had recognised the problems of facing a gang of people who remained hidden

form the public view and were divinely inspired. The recognition of the thugs being influenced ideologically by their religion brought about a different dimension to the idea of a criminal and their work. It needed to be suppressed urgently. He also recognised the fact that the captured thugs could not be left out and this created the first penal colonies with the worst human rights abuses. William Sleeman's assistant Natheniel Halhed the nephew of N.B Halhed the translator of the *Code of Gentoo Laws* [48] had begun the thrust into the thug's territory with the aim of controlling their activities. Ameer Ali does not mention Halhed but he describes the moments of his capture and the fall of the thugs. He mentions how the British army came against them and arrested them.[49] Halhed had begun the campaign into the purgana of Sindouse. He had absolutely no knowledge about the territory around him. The British had a road network up to Banaras by the 1780's. The network was slowly extended up to Lucknow and Hyderabad by 1808. The lack of information was crucial to the activities of the thugs. There were not many people who could pursue them and they were also in the local protection of the local zamindars and the local rajas who gave them protection for a share in the plunder. The British had begun improving their information about the interiors by 1785 due to the two wars fought by Wellesley.

Sleeman's campaign begins with the formation of the archive. The archive which was a store house of information included the complete genealogies of the thugs; their places of activities, their aliases, the number of murders and their relatives. The names of the victims were got by the relatives who were asked to come forward to identify the bodies that were exhumed and by the identification of the articles of clothing and valuables that were found during the raids conducted in the thugee villages. A number of the thugs were hanged and the rest were deported. This was done with the help of the 'Approvers'. The ‘Approvers’ were thugs who had decided to cooperate with the district administration in capturing the thugs in return for lighter

sentences and possible an escape from death by hanging. They had to find the places where the dead were buried and exhume the bodies. They also had to trace the absconding thugs and find them by leading the administration to the villages and the home of the relatives. The security of the approver was his continual support in providing the right information and the subsequent capture of the thugs that they identified. Ameer Ali becomes an approver at the end of the novel. The novel is a result of the conversations that he had with Colonel Meadows Taylor. As an approver Ameer Ali brings out the entire mode of the thug operations. He mentions:

> Life, sahib is dear to every one; to preserve mine, which was forfeited to your laws, I have bound myself to your service by the fearful tenure of denouncing all my old confederates, and you well know how that service is performed by me. Of all the members of my band, and those with whom chance has even casually connected me, but few now remain at large; many have been sacrificed at the shrine of justice, and of those who now wander broken and pursued from haunt to haunt, you have such intelligence as will lead to their speedy apprehension.[50]

A number of the convicted thugs were deported to Penang and Singapore where they worked as coolie labour on the rubber and the spice plantations. The penal colony of the Andaman's was established to house the thugs as the jails in Jabbalpur, Sagar and Etawah's jails were overflowing and could not take in more prisoners. A number of the thugs were also shifted to work in the plantations of Mauritius.

The methods for the suppression of the thugs were brutal. They were publicly hanged and their bodies were hung in gibbets or iron cages on the outskirts of the villages and the roads to rot and to serve as a warning for the other thugs on the roads. The ‘Approvers’ were forced to spend their entire lives in detention and they were not

allowed any freedom. Their children were also forced to stay with them in detentions as it was feared that thugee being a hereditary business the children would learn the tricks of the trade by the other absconding thugs. They were not even given the benefit of education as it was thought that they would begin questioning the detention. The approvers and their families were forced to work in the School of Industry which was founded in Jabalpur. The School of Industry was the place where the thugs were taught an alternative occupation of weaving carpets. A massive two ton carpet was woven by the thugs in this school and was gifted to Queen Victoria. It is there today at the Waterloo Chamber in the Windsor Castle. The rest of the thugs were forced in to working in the road gangs for the development of the roads. The prisoners David Arnold mentions:

> ...was a way of mobilising scarce labour power, especially
> for road construction and repair. [51]

The thugs finally died out with the death of the established thugs in jail due to old age and disease. The children were forced into hard labour in the School of Industry and they gradually learnt alternative trades. The thugs were completely wiped out by the 1840's. The role of the British in the suppression of the thug was an imperial exercise in control. They brought about the safety of the roads and also brought about an end to a tradition which was perceived to be a threat to the peace. It was a mercantile exercise which was done to secure the trade routes and to facilitate the nature of their imperial expansion of territory in India.

The discourse of colonialism and the interventions by the native voices or the colonial ones tried to articulate a view of anticipating and understanding India. The representative voices tried to resolve the imperial paradigm with a standpoint which represented a certain moment in time. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi's *Hind Swaraj* is an interesting text which can be regarded to be the first to bring about a sustained

resistance towards the colonial ideology by positing a theoretical framework of resistance. Gandhi was deeply influence by Mazzinni, Tolstoy and Ruskin. The *Hind Swaraj* mentions them as being crucial to his understanding of man, culture and civilization. It lays the foundations of his nationalistic paradigm by defining a number of his crucial formulations. The text brings out the idea of Swaraj, Swaraj as self rule and the Swaraj as home rule and his problem and his defence against civilization and modernity.

Gandhi's views on Swaraj are intimately connected to the political currents of the time within the Indian National Congress. The Indian National Congress had been founded initially by Allan Octavian Hume, Sir William Wedderburn, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Behramji Malabari and others. The need for this organization had been articulated by Hume in his famous 'Circular letter to the graduates of the University of Calcutta' on the 1st May, 1883 addressed the students on the nature of self right and self articulation through a more vigorous representation within western opinion especially the British parliament. Hume lays the blue print for the articulation of the role of the self within Indian nationalism which Gandhi later develops into the concept of Swaraj.

Gandhi's *Hind Swaraj* addresses multiple angles. One was addressed to the more extremist element in the Indian National congress. Madan Lal Dingra, V.D. Sarvarkar, Manmohan Ghosh and Krishna Verma Shyamji were the elements in the Indian nationalism scene who were in favour of more direct action. William Curzon Willie the aide-de-camp to Lord Morley, the Secretary of State to India had been assassinated by Madanlal Dingra. Gandhi brings out the elements of the Swaraj to address this problem.

Gandhi defines Swaraj to be two fold in nature. On one hand it means self government or the quest for ‘Home rule’; the other meaning of Swaraj is ‘Self Rule’ or

the possibility for self improvement. This means that the development of the self is crucially important for the attainment of Swaraj in the political sense.

The role of the Self in the attainment of Swaraj is the crux of the argument in the text. He mentions that improvement of the self results in a better implementation of dharma which is the code of living and the individual and the state profits from this. By emphasizing the self in the role of Swaraj; Gandhi involves the individual in an active participation of self improvement. This was a critique against the prevalent notion of Swaraj that meant that the expulsion of the British was the only necessary condition for the attainment of Swaraj. These were the views of the majority of the people who were in favour of a direct intervention by force. The view of Swaraj which is mentioned by Gandhi in Chapter 4 talks about instituting a change in the very character of the nation and the individual. He clearly mentions that one cannot have a Swaraj where the sole motive is to remove the British physically and to keep the British spirit of enterprise intact. Hence Gandhi mentions that violence was never the answer for the resolutions of the problems. A violent nature for him meant dissolution of the human spirit which only resulted in mass suffering.

It is important to note that he also advocated violence which could be used be used for public good. Hence one finds his raising of the ambulance corps in South Africa and his support for the British in funding and the raising of Indian soldiers to fight in the World War II. Violence however problematic in nature for him could also have a rationale for its existence. He developed the concept of passive resistance which meant personal suffering and the use of soul force in combating the problems and the evils of colonization to replace the role of violence. Swaraj could only be attained by the use of this soul force and it not only created a better individual in terms of character but also brought out the fallacies within the colonizing power by appealing to its better nature. Gandhi clearly mentions that he had nothing against the British as

individuals and as a people and he had the greatest reverence for the British constitution and its parliament. Gandhi examined the proclamation by Queen Victoria in 1858 after the mutiny of 1857. The proclamation examined the role of peace and amity among the people of India. It also held that the people of India should have similar rights as the citizens of the empire as the rest of the people in England. The proclamation reads:

> We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects; and those obligations, by the blessings of almighty god, we shall faithfully and consciously fulfill... and it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed , be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified, by their education, ability, and integrity, duly to discharge.[52]

Gandhi had a problem in the attitude of the British administrators who did not follow this proclamation in spirit or practice. In many ways he did not count the Indians as different subjects under the British. By the letter of the proclamation it meant that the Indians were as much the subjects of the British Empire as the British themselves. He showed his resistance against the role of civilization that the British had brought about with its capitalization and industrialization which resulted in pale imitations of the colonizer with their unquestioning attitude. So even if the British left the purpose would be defeated as the traces and the imprints of the modernity which came with the civilizational process were not removed.

Gandhi in the text cautioned against an unquestioned acceptance of the British spirit which was the product of the enlightenment modernity. This process of civilization which the Indian intelligentsia found to be very attractive was the factor which would undermine the very nature of Swaraj. Gandhi actually hinted at the modification of the

psyche itself which could be deprogrammed from the effects of the so called western civilizational process. A developed psyche would foster the nature of his concept of the Swaraj where the individual was on a constant stream of self development and on the path of dharma which would bring back the moral fibre of the nation which he felt had been destroyed by the advent of capitalization which came through civilization. Gandhi formulated that civilization without the concept of Swaraj as a metaphor of self improvement was not the ideal kind of freedom and the role of civilization with its capitalistic emphasis; which broke the idea of self reliance was not the Swaraj he intended. This was the response that he had formulated in response to a large number of people who wanted to remove the British but wanted to keep the basis institutions and structures that signified civilization.

Gandhi has often been critiqued for his views on civilization and the modernity that ensued with it. Largely he examines the idea of modernity in terms of industrialization and education. The charges against the *Hind Swaraj* were the outmoded means of production which would not lead the nation forward. Nehru had rejected the vision as an obsolete vision which had served its time. The text mentions that civilization in terms of western modernity was the basic problem that had brought about the ruin of India. Gandhi meant the idea of civilization as a 'change' or a 'correction'. The Gujarati edition carries the term as 'Sudharo'. The *Hind Swaraj* was not so much about the negation of modernity as much as a corrective affirmation. This had occurred through the growth of industrialization; the destruction of the agro and the cottage industries and western education which drove the students from their roots.

This charge has a great deal of discourse in the preceding decades of the nineteenth century. There was a huge appreciation of the enlightenment modernity in the nineteenth century India where the elements of modernity in terms of science and

rationality were seen with the growth of education and the rise of an intellectual class which was well versed in the terms of that modernity. Raja Rammohan Roy, Prassana Coomar Tagore, and Debendranath Tagore in the early decades of the nineteenth century had established educational institutions and the early leaders of the Indian National Congress like Dadabhai Navroji, Sir Pherozshah Mehta, Byramji Malbari and later Gandhi, Nehru and Vallabhai Patel were products of this enlightenment modernity which saw them being educated in England with a complete exposure to the rationality and the literature of the west. Along with this appreciation there was also an anxiety that was projected against the internal deconstructive force that was present within the modernity. This can be seen in the resistance that was directed on to the enlightenment discourse from writers like Bhartendu Harishchandra, Dalpatram, Goverdhanram Tripathi, Narmad, Vivekananda, Dayanand Saraswati and later Sri Aurobindo who began as an extreme leader of the Swaraj with his newspaper like the Bande Matharam and his bomb blast case. Gandhi attributed the growth of the nation in the future in terms of the Swaraj which was powered by the personal self and which was reformed by dharma and was translated on to the nation. This could be done by the movement and the development of swadeshi goods and kadhi cloth which was woven by the people themselves and through this bringing back the self reliance that had been destroyed by the mills of Manchester. Most of Gandhi's actions have been overtly symbolistic. The Dandi march, the spinning of the charkha are symbols which translated into a philosophy of self reliance and self rule which was essential for the spiritual and the physical regeneration of the nation. In economical terms the symbols meant decreased sales of foreign goods which resulted in a loss for the empire. This business strategy was conveyed through the idea of the charkha which was the visible representation of the self rule or the self development or Swaraj.

Gandhi moved beyond in his concept of Swaraj by examining the caste system in his later works. The system that he tried to modify symbolised an integral part of humanity which had the rights to understand, enjoy and participate in the Swaraj. This was done through many means like marriages and population education. The vision did not succeed in its entirety. His vision of Swaraj held holding all the communities together. This was apparent in his treatment of the community and religion. The role of the community handled the individual opinions of the swaraj. The individual opinions whether it was moderate, traditional or extremist had to be tempered in the interests of the community. Gandhi's ideas of passive resistance were not only directed against the colonisers but to anybody who was against the concept of swaraj in the terms of self improvement. Hence religious extremism also saw the same kind of passive resistance in the form of marathon fasts as a form of personal suffering as he did against the excesses of colonial rule. The role of violence directed against any community, religion or the state saw the immediate suspension of the sathyagraha. The Chauri Chaura incident where the police out post was burnt by incensed mobs is an example where Gandhi felt that the role of the personal self as an integral element of the Swaraj concept had been compromised. Here Gandhi did not distinguish between the body of the native or the foreigner. He was against the modernity associated with the elements of civilization that had been associated with the British.

How does one examine Swaraj within the nationalistic paradigm? How does Swaraj bypass the ideological repression that engenders it, and by doing so how does it refocus again on the individual and from the individual to a community and the state? Gandhi by focussing on the role of the self as the agency of the truth propels the individual to a state of conflict. The conflict is not only a Manichean division between the good and the bad, light and the darkness; but in an attempt to reconnect and bypass

the historical charge of the lack of Indian historicity Gandhi focuses back to the upanishadic truth as being the supreme. By doing this Gandhi removes the Indian self, the nation and history from the polemics of British historiography; but it must be understood that Swaraj is a response to a historic challenge. Here there is an inherent paradox involved. Swaraj cannot be completely independent of history. It responds and is responsive at the same time it shows adaptability to history.

In one sense Swaraj behaves and changes to situations in terms of resistance and application on the other hand it also occupies a sacrosanct space of Dharma ad the soul force where the Manichean duality of good and evil exists as they are. So Swaraj brings a binary opposition of it being a moral sacrosanct construct and an applicational Swaraj which faces history in the sense of colonial forces and the problems of modernity in terms of religion, education community and the nation.

The vision of Gandhi was broad in its concept and theoretical praxis. He in a way could sustain or succeed in bringing out a concrete finality to the problems that he addressed in terms of cultural integration through education and the constitutional rights. The response that was generated within the literary spheres within the nineteenth century was informed by the individual synergy of the authors and the poets. Each had a definite idea of what colonization entailed; and their appropriate place with in it. Each of the writers devised their own strategies to bring out the problems of their individual spaces and the problems they dealt with. Henry Vivian Derozio had the problems of the East Indian community that informed much of his writings. His participation in the Young Bengal movement was a response to the inhumane conditions in which the East Indian community lived. It was as much a response against the British as mi was a response to the modernity in Bengal. Bankimcandra Chatterji brought out the problems of Bengal and voiced his concerns regarding the modernity principle in Bengal through the arches of

history. By going back to seventeenth Bengal Bankimcandra highlighted the beginnings of colonization in Bengal and response of the people that in a way welcomed the change in control in Bengal by the British. Itcharam Desai voiced the problems of a weak India and the possible middle ground with the idea of reform but he tried to voice the fact that the Indians had failed in their attempt to forge an adequate response to the colonial process. Meadows Taylor brought out the fluid area of India and the imaginative attraction with India in the nineteenth century. His India is still a part of the historical process in the making and by concentrating on historical personages in all his novels brought out the nature of the British imagination and its fixture with India. He also points to the imperial process at work. Each of the works deals with a specific movement in history. The thugs, Shivaji, Tippu Sultan and the mutiny become the subject matter of his novels. Gandhi tried to bring about a counter argument with the colonial discourse. He bridges the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries. He brought out a systematic discourse to deal with the problems of colonization. All the authors brought about a negotiation space from which they operated to bring about an individual worldview which comprised the colonial powers and India.

NOTES

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[13] Derozio, 11.

[14] Derozio, 99.

[15] Derozio, 11.

[16] Derozio, 327. See the Prohibition Order of The Managers of Hindoo College.

[17] Derozio, 329. See the minute proceedings of the Directors of the Hindoo College April 23rd, 1831.

[18] Derozio, 328-329.

[19] Derozio, 330.

[20] Derozio, 331.

[21] Derozio, 331

[22] Derozio, 332. See Derozio's letter addressed to Dr. H. H. Wilson, April 25th, 1831.

[23] Derozio, 333. See Derozio's Letter of Resignation addressed to the ManagingCommittee of the Hindoo College, April 25th, 1831.

[24] Derozio, 373. See the meetings proceedings for the approval of the draft of the second petition to the Parliament, July 1st, 1831.

[25] Derozio, 378-379. See the draft of the East Indians Second Petition, 27th July, 1831.

[26] Derozio, 379.

[27] Derozio, 379.

[28] Derozio, 380.

[29] Derozio, 380.

[30] Derozio, 380.

[31] Bankimchandra Chatterji, *Anandmath, or the Sacred Brotherhood,* Trans. Iulus J. Lipner (New Delhi: OUP, 2006).

[32] Sir William Wilson Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal* (London: Smith, Elder, 1897) 69-71.

[33] Bankimchandra Chatterji, *Anandmath, or The Sacred Brotherhood,* (Trans. Iulius J. Lipner (New Delhi: OUP, 2006) 32.

[34] Bankimchandra, 228-229.

[35] Itcharam Suryaram Desai, *Hind And Britannia and Rajbhakti Vidamban* (1885, Bombay: The "Gujarati" Printing Press, 1925).

[36] Itcharam Suryaram Desai, preface, *Hind And Britanina and Rajbhakti Vidamban* (1885, Bombay: The "Gujarati" Printing Press, 1925) 17-18.

[37] Itcharam Desai, 18.

[38] Itcharam Desai, 19.

[39] Itcharam Desai, 19.

[40] Meadows Taylor, *Confessions of a Thug* (London: Humphrey Milford, 1919).

[41] Taylor, 1.

[42] Taylor, 46-47.

[43] Taylor, 267.

[44] Edward Thornton, *A Gazetteer of the Territories Under the Government of the East India Company and of the Native States of the Continent of India,* Vol.II (London: W.H. Allen, 1854), 279.

[45] John Freyer, *A New Account of the East Indies and Persia 1672-1681,* Vol.1, (London: Hakluyt Society, 1909-15).

[46] Fryer mentions in his third letter, '*A Description of Surat and the Journey into the Deccan*' about the stranglers. They were amputed below the knees and were left to hang until they dropped down to the ground. He mentions a boy who 'boasted, that though he were not fourteen years of age, he had killed his fifteen men'.

[47] William Sleeman, *Ramaseeana, or a Vocabulary of the Peculiar Language used by the Thugs,* Vol.1 (Calcutta: Bengal Military Orphan Press, 1836) 68, 72 and 222-5. Most Thug accounts and legends mention seven families. They were named Barsote, Bhais, Kachuni, Huttar, Garru, Tandel and Rathod.

[48] Natheniel Halhed, *A Code of Gentoo laws or ordinations of the pundits, from a Persian Translation, made from the original, written in the Shanscrit language* (London: East India Company, 1776).

[49] William Sleeman, *Ramaseeana or a Vocabulary of the Peculair Language used by the Thugs* Vol.1 (Calcutta: Bengal Military Orphan Press, 1836) 149-150, 216.

[50] Meadows Taylor, *Confessions of a Thug* (London: Humphrey Milford, 1919)11.

[51] David Arnold, ‘The Colonial Prison’, *Subaltern studies,* Vol.8, eds. David Arnold and David Hardiman (New Delhi: OUP, 1994).

[52] M.K.Gandhi, *Hind Swaraj And Other Writings,* ed. Anthony J. Parel (New Delhi: Foundation Books, 2004) 79.

Chapter-5

Conclusion

After the discussion of Orientalism in the preceding chapters with special reference to India it can be stated even at the risk of generalization stated that Orientalism is a mode of studying the Orient by which the West constantly writes and modifies the codes of perception and the modes of the construction of the East. Orientalism envisioned India in a number of ways and means. It took on the efforts of scholar administrators, traveller accounts, Christian missionary tracts and state sponsored surveys to bring out the facets of India.

The modes of viewing India varied from accounts and descriptions, travel vignettes, diaries, scientific expeditions, court accounts and discovery tracts. They can be noted in the tracts and diaries of the early travellers like Edward Terry who was the Chaplain in the Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe and the travellers during the British Raj like Fanny Parks, Margaret Nugget, Bishop Heber and Emily Eden. Their accounts are descriptions of India, the villages and the modes of viewing the people around. They categorise the information collated by them in the given domain of their exposure or observation and turn in statements where the ordinary Indian is rarely represented. They become the objects of the 'gaze' where the travellers construct them and decide what is appropriate to be shown and commented upon. The gaze moves into the homes and the manners of living. It reflects on the customs and the people but there is never a feed back from the people who are being observed. They exist in the background feeding the imperial gaze silently.

Orientalism is a discipline which oversees critical apparatuses at work. The apparatuses include history, anthropology, ethnology, archaeology, literature and

governmental programmes. This was seen in the publication of numerous tracts, books and journals. It led to the development of museums and survey operations. Orientalism today is understood in a different context within Foucauldian terms of power analysis which was brought out by Edward Said's *Orientalism*. Post Colonial discourse after the Saidean intervention to good measure does not examine the output of Orientalistic scholarship. Rather it examines Orientalism as a construct; an idea which is devoid of any historicity. It is homogeneous and overreaching in its construction. Orientalism in India however was pluralistic in nature because diverse powers informed it. Every country that had a stake in India had a different construct of India and its characteristics. The French, the British and the Germans had different imperatives and needs for the studies on India. This is missed by much of the post colonial scholarship today which views Orientalism in India as a homogeneous construct that informs the entire construction of the archive that constructs the Middle East and the countries in Asia. Edward Said defined his problems with the colonial project in his *Orientalism* and in he redefined its boundaries in *Culture and Imperialism.* Post colonial scholarship after Said especially with discourses initiated by Homi Bhabha and Gayatri Chakravarthi Spivak and its subsequent readings do not define the role of Orientalism as a discipline and Orientalism as a polemic discourse. The theoretical emphasis of this discourse has no connection or a correlative with the actual historical events and documents. This has lead to a fractured version of history which has not interrogated the colonial history of the colonised nations systematically.

Orientalism as a discipline conferred identities which identified and conferred a status among the people; to achieve the objectives institutions like universities, colleges and societies were founded. It was an exercise which had publication divisions and a full range of lecture circuits where scholars debated on the nature of

the Oriental scholarship. It led to studies and reading on ethnology and race sciences and advances in the religious sphere where the religious question of the natives that were to be govewrned became such a debatable question. The knowledge of the Orient spurred the trade and specific Oriental knowledge was guarded for commercial pursuits. This led to intrigues and full blown out conflicts. This form of Orientalism differs from the Orientalism as understood within Post Colonial discourse. Orientalism here becomes an abstract praxis of power and the modes of power which do not take into account the hard physical reality and the evidence and the presence of the Orientalistic archive which constructed the gaze itself.

Indian history had been marked by cultural encounters. The colonial powers in India had a major problem in understanding this history. The French, the British, the Dutch as occupying powers and the Germans later faced the problem of understanding this history in terms of details, genealogy and historical facts. The early western accounts of India from the 13^{th} to the 15^{th} century saw it in despotic terms and much of this literature was not very accurate in terms of factual details. These readings were unhistoricised readings and as a result bypassed the entire aspect of history within India which had been the feature of the translation projects by the later 19^{th} century Orientalists. This led to vague constructions which verged on ‘the romantic’, ‘the grotesque’ and ‘the incredible’. This early impressions of India were current until the first early movement of the Jesuits into India. They brought about the first contact with the Mughal court by the establishments of Jesuit missions on the Konkan coast and at the court of Akbar where they were a part of the theological discussions during the composition of Din-Ai- Ilahi the composite religion that had been popularised by Akbar. From here on the early readings of India get more concrete in their

formulations with detailed accounts of the various provinces of India and their culture. The people get more humanised and they start getting more distinct identities within their local provinces. The tendency at this stage is to record the basic information on the land, the routes and the people.

Orientalism in its early construction of India laid emphasis on the collation of information. Information was the key to the early understanding of the people and the land. This information meant that the land was topographically noticed and cartography helped them in their task All the accounts mentioned in the notes bring out detailed accounts of the land routes, the towns and cities. There are constant references to the produce of the area, the major trade centres, and the merchants in the area, the local bankers and brief descriptions of the geographical features on the routes. These accounts included the religion of the people and their practices, and they brought about a definite understanding of the land and the people and this facilitated the early trading activities of the trading companies. There were accounts by all the foreign powers which brought about a definite construction of India which began to differ from the earlier vague romanticised constructions with its despotic emphasis. The romanticism disappeared with the familiarization of the land and its people but the despotic image remained through out the British control of India and it continued in Europe long after the European participants had assumed inferior status in the political control of the land.

Said's definition of Orientalism raises a few problems when the cultural encounter by the French, the British and the Germans with India is examined. Edward Said exposed the political aspect of the Orientalistic enterprise as noted in the chapter 'Crisis in Orientalism'. He focuses on the Middle East and reads literary texts and non literary discourses to prove the political motivations behind their considerations. He

clearly mentions that he was not focusing on India and China which had been for centuries the focus of Orientalistic construction. Orientalism ceases to be a discipline with the post colonialists after Said and it becomes rather an abstract idea which encompasses all cultures and regions. It assumes a homogenising status where the pluralities of the geographical locations and the local details are missed and bypassed in terms of praxis and dialogical encounters, the pluralities of resistance and collaboration and the imperial vision which constituted it.

This Orientalist position assumes a problematic stance as there were pluralities in the Orientalistic vision with respect to the different colonial powers. Oriental enterprise of nations had a different synergy and an underlying anxiety with its approach to conceptualising India. The French, the Portuguese, the Dutch and the British were the Orientalising colonial powers in terms of the geographical possession of the land in India with the sole exception of Germany as discussed in chapter 'Orient(aliz)ing Institutions and Individuals. It would be restrictive to understand Orientalism solely in terms of geographical possessions. India had been envisaged centuries earlier by Chinese travellers like Fa Hain and Huien Tsang and many others from the area. Also there is Alberuni's vision of India during his visit with Muhammad of Ghazi. There is a similarity in the methodology of their visions and constructions when compared to the later colonial powers. Even they had seen and understood India in terms of categories and had classified the people, their provinces and territory. The Orientalism project also did the same thing but with a different sense of purpose. The early accounts of the Chinese travellers can be examined as cultural encounters as there was never the question of an imperial exercise involved. In this sense the envisioning of India had begun much earlier with Arab, Chinese and Persian accounts. The Orientalistic project, as Said envisions it, was largely a 19th

century one which began with Napoleon's invasion of Egypt and the birth of Egyptology and it later transferred to the East with the growth of colonial possessions.

The Imperial powers in India had utilised a number of these accounts and had put a special emphasis on Megasthenes's accounts in Greek which were known to the European world, though the connection of Sandracotus with Chandra Gupta Maurya was only possible by digging the archival evidences of the early encounter between the Orient and the Occident through the efforts of Sir William Jones at the Asiatic Society of Bengal. There was also a focus of the accounts of Huien Tsang and Fa Hain's accounts of India and to come to more recent history Abu Fazal's accounts of Akbar's reign in the *Ain- Ne- Akbari* and William Gladwin's translation of the work in the late 18th century and Alexander Dow's translation of Ferishta's Persian Mughal history in his *History of Hindostan*.

Orientalistic studies were not free from anxiety that cut across the entire range of readings and the motives for the Orientalistic research, trade, commerce and administration which were represented by the foreign trading companies were only an aspect of Orientalism. Orientalism followed the trading fortunes of the companies but soon grew independent enough to become a discipline. The anxiety that underlies oriental research and the subsquent linguistic output which followed it lay with the geopolitical nature of the 18th and the 19th century Europe. The French Revolution brought about a huge change in the attitude within European monarchies as it had challenged the entire social order had brought about changes in the feudal order. The nature of feudalism and the break down of hierarchies brought about a lot of anxiety within European states. In a way the concept of man had changed with the breakdown of the hierarchies in France. The anxiety was compounded with the Napoleonic wars

in Europe with its imposition of French taxes, culture and language. There was a race for the Oriental prize that comprised the prized spices and commerce.

Germany reacted to this socio-political problem with a wave of romanticism which envisioned India as the source of the missing German Aryan link**.** German Orientalism went back to its past especially to its folk culture to relieve the anxiety of the Napoleonic present. The problem it had was with the periodization of history. The first volume of the *Asiatic Researches* which had been brought out by the Asiatic Society of Bengal had created a huge amount of interest in Sanskrit as the original linguistic source code of the European languages. Fredrich Schlegal had studied Sanskrit under Alexander Hamilton in Paris. Hamilton was one of the Sanskrit pioneers and had served with the East India Company in India. Sanskrit and linguistic studies was seen as a source to the problems of a hegemonic French culture and also brought about a sense of pride with the antiquity of Sanskrit and its literature and the German link to it with its Aryan heritage. Sanskrit was a major component of the Aryan heritage with its virtue of being a part of the Eastern branch of the early European languages. Schlegal's work was carried forward by Franz Bopp, August Wilhelm Schlegal, Herder, Schilling and Goethe. The studies in Sanskrit also led to the establishment of University chairs in Sanskrit in Germany**.** The construction of Orientalism by the Western powers was a virtual one and they created an India through the archives and India was condenses into books, gazetteers and maps. The German anxiety was an introverted one. The assault of the Francophile culture in Europe and the German response to Sanskrit pointed to a sense of lack of origins. It was primarily the lack of a corresponding Vedic age within European history and the role of Sanskrit as a root language which led to the appropriation of the entire Vedic period of India as a missing link within European historiography. This translates

across all the early research by the French, German and the British Orientalist's especially the anniversary discourses of William Jones at the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

German Oriental enterprise differs from the other colonial powers by its non participation in the colonial process in India. Still Germany functioned from the archive. The publications of the Asiatic Society by the virtue of being translated in most of the European languages brought about material for research. The archive generated the entire movement towards the translations of India. Germany also had access to materials from the Oriental centres across Europe.

The anxiety of the Napoleonic conquests was also reflected in the British and French Orientalism. Napoleon's invasion of Europe meant a complete blockade of trade routes across Europe. Moreover the sea routes saw competing strategies between the trading empires across the continent. This rivalry in Europe; which had been a part of the traditional histories of the two nations Britain and France translated into battles across India. France had a head start in Orientalism with the finest scholars and collections in Egyptology. The French did not succeed as much in Indian Orientalistic studies as the British did and this was due to the intense power struggles which resulted in heavy French losses of territory with the fall of Seringpatnam and the death of Tipu Sultan during the Mysore wars. Territorial conquest requires information on the land, its people and culture. It also needs a reconstruction of history. Despite Dupliex's efforts as the Governor of Pondicherry; France could not emerge as a leading territorial power in India but its Orientalising vision continued with the appearance of the *Asiatic Researches* in Europe and which was translated into major European languages and the output of the phenomenal German philological research. There had been a few cases of genuine collection of information

with the French as with the case of Anquetil Du Perron and the translation of the Zend Avesta and the Vendidad texts.

British Orientalism was more complete in all its aspects of studies and categories when compared to the other powers. There were phases in its constructions and its understanding of India. The first phase of understanding India was the translation phase. This was a period where there was a lot of emphasis on comparative translations. The efforts of Charles Wilkins, Alexander Dow, William Jones and Zephaniah Holwell are noteworthy here. Bernard Cohn has commented on the language of the command and the command of language. The British Orientalist's acquired the languages through translations. The antiquity of Sanskrit and Vedic studies is a common motif in European Orientalism and it informs British Orientalism also. Charles Wilkins *Geeta*, N.B. Halhed's *A Code of Gentoo Laws* and the translations of the *Manusmrithi* by William Jones brought about disturbing ideas of imperial control and the use of language. The translation phase brought out the vital texts that were important for the act of governance. It also helped to colonise and understand the Indian mind that held the texts with much reverence. The religious texts which had the moral authority over the lives of the people became accessible with the help of these translations and the imperial gaze became more fixed on the country. The gaze that constructed the individuals was better informed with the help of the translations and the observations of the gaze became more accurate and defined. The despotic image continued but the fanciful descriptions of the earlier accounts were more concretised, as the facts became more and more pronounced.

The next phase was the linguistic phase with its heavy emphasis on lexical grammars and the practical dissemination of Indian languages at the College of Fort William. William Carey, William Ward and Joshua Marshman the Serampore

missionaries and H.T. Colebrooke of the Asiatic Society characterise this phase. This is where the languages constitute the biggest projects of the British in India. Languages were accorded an importance according to the territories that were governed. The early departments at the College of Fort William gave a greater importance to Bengali and Hindustani and less to the other languages. The other languages that constituted India became more and clearer as the territories were brought under British influence and the language dictionaries were prepared for the Collectors of the districts. The command over the languages gave the British better insight into the local problems of the area and it also helped to remove the dependency on the local interpreters and this led to greater accuracy of information and a better idea of the local problems in the courts. This was philological scholarship at its best as polyglot dictionaries were constructed that could handle a number of languages together along with specialised phrase books and situational discourses. This was brought to its peak with the commissioning of the Linguistic Survey of India by Grierson. It led to the ethnological surveys of tribes and communities and the first census operations in India.

The third stage of British Orientalism moves from the linguistic stage to the archaeological surveys and the establishment of museums. This is seen through the efforts of C. F. Mackenzie, James Princep and Alexander Cunningham; the first Director of the Archaeological Survey of India. This phase also saw the establishment of museums like the Indian Museum at Calcutta and the mapping of India via the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India and the formation of the Imperial Gazetteers. This phase saw a physical mapping of Indian topography which brought an empirical image of the country in terms of distances and measurements, the quality of soil and the best areas for the growth of specific crops. The country was brought into a

mathematical framework where the altitudes and the mineral resources were identified. This brought about a definite idea of the sources of revenue. This differs from the conquests and the loot and plunder as a source of revenue that characterised earlier phases. The control of territory meant more settled methods of settling revenue and produce.

The fourth phase is the reconstruction of India by Anglicists like James Mill, Macaulay and Charles Grant. The Anglicists reconstructed India that moved away from the Orientalistic view of India. Much of the Anglicist view was constructed by those who never came to India. James Mill who wrote the influential *History of British India* and an Orientalist like Max Muller who commented extensively on Indian texts never visited India. Their influential texts like the German's earlier were constructed, composed and edited out of the Orientalistic archives which were present in the museums and the libraries of Europe. This phase constructed the future India in terms of policies and methods of governance. The British brought about better systems of communication and modes of travel. There was the introduction of the railways and the telegraph during this period along with the introduction of English as a mode of studies and communication and the development of schools and curriculum.

The fifth phase is seen where the British opinion partially merged into the nascent Indian nationalism and this is seen with Max Muller, A.O. Hume and C.F. Andrews. This was an interesting phase where there was an internal critique of the colonial process by the colonialists themselves. A. O. Hume was the founder member of the Indian National Congress. C.F. Andrews's association with Rabindranath Tagore and M.K. Gandhi is well documented. The basic thread that runs through all these phases is the construction of the vision and the dissemination of India. These phases coincide

with the consolidation of the British power in India. They range from the earliest views of the country and the people and end with pluralities in the vision of looking at the vast sub continent that had been conquered. The gaze shifted from the archive to the land and the people itself. The archival construction that governed the French, the British and the German vision differed in its imperatives and objectives. Still the very premise of India as a construct remained coloured and imprinted in their writings which was constantly modified and reconstructed according to the political and the psycho cultural needs that governed nineteenth century India.

Orientalism impacted the entire human race through the course of its development. It led to the redefinition of both the coloniser and the colonised. Both saw shades and elements of the other in themselves and accordingly brought about a synthesis, a rupture and a renegotiation of the colonial discourse and the construction and the consolidation of colonialism. Orientalism thus can be seen as is a trope which is still prevalent in a new garb. Colonialism divided the world between the coloniser and the colonised and Orientalism as a discourse and a body of knowledge was its principal means. The story remains the same today because Colonialism and its tropes have been replaced by Neo Colonialism and that has led to a new brand of Orientalism that is being termed as Neo Orientalism. Neo Orientalism has replaced the Orientalism of the preceding centuries. It signifies that a certain phase in the historical scholarship that constituted Orientalism is over. Neo Orientalism disseminates and presides and still categorises in terms of area scholarships in its earlier mode and a newer model of sub continental scholarship like South Asian studies, South East Asian studies and Middle East studies, etc. The tendency is still to club all the nations within a common umbrella vocabulary by desystematizing or disturbing existing settled identities which had been a feature of the earlier brand of Orientalism. It is also evident in

international politics and within the behaviour of the world social and economic forums.

The Nineteenth century was marked by practicing Orientalism and the twenty first century has laid bare the fangs of colonialism through an understanding of the colonial experience where the play between the past and the present is still evident in portrayal. The World War II ended Orientalism and a direct colonisation is not possible now. The role of imperial control earlier is transformed into knowledge systems of a different nature and texture which still enables the West to dictate terms and the modes of intellectual exchange through certified bodies and publications. The West with its archival depth has assumed the role of the same archive which had been occupied by the Orientalist's a couple of centuries earlier and in many cases has been unquestioningly accepted by the audiences.

Orientalism was a very sophisticated discourse and along with the British colonial practices the Indian structures were not disturbed as long as it suited the policies of the British. Still an element of sensitivity pervades their policies during their early years of rule. Along with the phases of colonial development this also gradually changes after 1820's until the proclamation of Queen Victoria in 1858 C.E.; after the 1857 Uprising where there is a reconstruction of British attitudes and the end of the East India Company as an entity. Orientalism had multiple faces attached to it because of the different modalities used by the colonisers in different countries, different regions and the different regions within the same country. The different modalities constructed India and a governable India was attained. The modalities used by different colonisers had a different synergy attached to it and the anxieties which accompanied it were different. This leads to the complexity of understanding Orientalism both as a text and as a discourse.

It would be a mistake to examine the political and the imperial aspect of Orientalism without also looking at the role of the conservation policies initiated by it. Orientalism brought about the most sophisticated efforts in the fields of conservation and documentation. The entire study of Orientalism had the other face attached to it which helped in constructing histories and the preservation of manuscripts and monuments. This imperial exercise which had imperial motives has helped in the act of assessing our histories, documents and monuments today and a lot of this information would never have been available for the entire field of post colonial scholarship. The same nineteenth century oriental archives which are present in the numerous libraries in manuscript form and books are of a great colonial interest today and it helps the present day historian to understand the period. The archives help to bring out and understand the colonial process, the formulation of responses and through the responses the expression of the agony and the possible mitigation and the renegotiation of the colonial experience.

The Oriental discourse in India is a vast corpus of writing in the Derridian sense and no single reading can lay claim to finality of either observation or interpretation. However in all the ages to come it would remain a highly interesting and enriching area of study at least for India for this discourse shaped and conditioned Indian psyche and society to good extent. Its influence can still be discerned as collective cultural memory and it bequeaths to us an integral part of that Indian experience which needs rereading and further reading by every generation.

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